MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 5, No. 10 JUNE, 1961 Price: 7s. 6d.

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Published by

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
C.o. The City of Sydney Public Library, George St., Sydney,
and

Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a periodical.

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Vol. 5, No. 10. June, 1961

ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

Australia: Material Culture. **Massola.**

A Victorian Skull-cap Drinking Bowl. *By Aldo Massola, Curator of Anthropology, National Museum of Victoria.*

This paper describes a drinking cup made from a human skull, the first reported for Victoria. Similar vessels in Australian collections, and some specimens in England and Italy are reviewed. A division of the known examples into two types, depending on whether the whole of the brain box or only the calvaria is used, is here suggested.

Skull-vessels are now of the greatest rarity, only six examples being known to exist in Australian collections. These are: three in the Australian Museum, Sydney, all from the Coorong, S.A.; one in the National Museum, Melbourne, from Tasmania; and one in the South Australian Museum, Adelaide, from the Coorong, S.A. The specimen here described is in the private collection of Mr. F. Smith, Mt. Dandenong, Victoria, and came from Jeparit, in the Lake Hindmarsh district of the Mallee of Victoria.

Judging by extant specimens and earlier records, skull vessels were used in the Coorong of South Australia and the nearby lower Murray lakes. The Victorian specimen, coming from the Mallee, would seem to belong to this south-eastern South Australian culture.

The reason for their use in this culture region would appear to have been due to the scarcity of suitable material to make water carrying vessels. In the timbered regions further east, for example, gnarls from trees were used, while further north water containers were cut from suitable trees.

This reason for the use of the skull-cups must perhaps be coupled with the psychological impulse which causes peoples of a certain cultural level to retain the skull of the dead, as the seat of the ego, or personality, of relation, friend, or enemy. This phenomenon has occurred at all times, and in all countries. Ramifications of this custom can be seen in head-hunting and skull-worship.

The Rev. H. Meyer[9] appears to have been the first to record the use of skulls as drinking cups by the Aborigines of this part of South Australia. In describing the body-disposal customs of the Encounter Bay tribes he states that, " The head is then taken by the next of kin, and serves him for a drinking vessel." E. J. Eyre[6] repeats this statement, and gives the first illustration of one of these vessels. This shows a human skull with both the upper and lower jaws removed, consisting, in fact, of only the cerebral box. The caption to this representation reads, " Drinking cup, being the scull [*sic*] of a native with the sutures closed with wax or gum."

This peculiar custom was also recorded by Angas,[1] who stated that the natives of the lower Murray River were " never buried with the head on, the skull of the dead being taken away and used as drinking vessels by the relations of the deceased. Moolo, the native whom I met near the junction of the lake, parted with his mother's skull for a small piece of tobacco ! " and " If the body . . . should happen to belong to a warrior slain in fight . . . after the body has remained for several weeks on the platform, it is taken down and buried ; the skull becoming the drinking cup of the nearest relative." In another work[2] Angas states, " Whilst travelling along the Coorong our party fell in with an aged and infirm man, accompanied by a girl about ten years old . . . The girl carried a human skull in her hand ; it was her mother's skull, and from it she drank her daily draught of water ! " This old man, the girl, and the skull are shown on Plate 36 of this work. On Plate 27 of the same work the skull is again shown, with the captain " A human skull, ornamented with pieces of shell, fastened by gum and vegetable resin, used as a drinking vessel by the natives about Lake Albert and along the Coorong. It is said that they generally prefer the skull of their deceased parents or other near relations to those of strangers."

Angas's accounts are particularly useful as he makes it clear that the skulls of females were used as well as those of warriors, and indiscriminately by young and old of either sex.

The next writer is J. C. Wood,[14] who states : " Among many of the tribes may be seen a strange sort of ornament or rather utensil—namely, a drinking cup made of a human skull. It is slung on cords and carried by them, and the owner takes it wherever he or she goes. These ghastly utensils are made from the skull of the nearest and dearest relatives ; and when an Australian mother dies, it is thought right that her daughter should form the skull of her mother into a drinking vessel. The preparation is simple enough. The lower jaw is removed, the brains are extracted, and the whole of the skull thoroughly cleaned. A rope handle, made of bullrush fibre, is then attached to it, and it is considered fit for use. It is filled with water through the vertebral aperture, into which a whisp of grass is always stuffed, so as to prevent the water from being spilled."

J. C. Wood's work received large popularity and consequently his version of Angas's original description became widely accepted, especially as Angas's works were, and are, very rare. Both Brough-Smyth[4] and Worsnop[15] were influenced by Wood. The former, however, significantly states that : " It is asserted that the natives of Encounter Bay fashion water vessels out of the heads of their deceased relatives. I have never seen any of these hideous drinking cups, and I cannot learn that they were ever in use amongst the tribes of Victoria."

The next author to mention these vessels is the late D. S. Davidson,[5] who was one of the leading writers on Australian aboriginal material culture. On this subject, however, he was not as lucid as usual, briefly dismissing the skull-cups as follows : " Human skull vessels . . . are reported for only the south-east " and in a foot-note adds, " Human skulls were used solely for water-vessels. Gum was smeared over the sutures. The upper jaw and malar bones have been broken off many specimens."

On a distribution map on page 198 of the same paper he gives skull vessels as occurring in eastern South Australia, Victoria, and southern New South Wales. The caption to the map gives the location and original provenance of all four specimens known to him, as follows : *Australian Museum, Sydney :* Coorong, S.A., Pambula River, N.S.W. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide :* Lake Albert, S.A., Coorong, S.A. Davidson's Pambula River specimen,

which gives him New South Wales as a locality, is very doubtful, as it is the upper part of a skull lacking both temporal bones, with the occipital broken off about half way along the flat portion at the base of the skull, and the frontal broken off just below the supraorbital ridges. All the edges are rough and sharp. It was found on a kitchen midden along the Pambula River, and its use as a water vessel can only be conjectural. McCarthy, in a letter to the writer (29/7/60), states that this specimen " cannot be accepted as a water carrier, in my opinion, and this view is supported by the fact that no attempt has been made to smooth the edges for drinking purposes."

Davidson's reference for Victoria as a locality was not derived from an actual skull, but from Brough-Smyth, who, however, does not claim the use of skull cups in Victoria, but, on the contrary, states that he was not able to find out if the Victorian tribes ever used them. Davidson is likewise wrong in allotting two specimens to the South Australian Museum, as in fact, one of them is a plaster cast of one of the Australian Museum's specimens.

It must be borne in mind that most of these references refer to a type of skull cup which should properly be called skull water-carrier. In fashioning these the natives used the whole of the skull, with the exception of the jaws and facial bones, the brain cavity being, of course, the necessary part. The resulting vessel was carried by means of a toggle, or loop, passing through the foramen magnum. Three of the existing examples in Australian collections belong to this type.

The other three specimens are drinking cups, and not water carriers, as, in each case, only the calvaria has been retained, the result being a receptacle which would be rather awkward for carrying water during the day's march, apart from the fact that only a very small amount would thus be carried (see fig. 1).

The skull cup now under review consists of the whole of the frontal, parietal and part of the occipital bones of the skull of an Australian aboriginal. The edges of the bowl are delineated by the original temporo-sphenoidal and squamous sutures. The lambdoid suture, however, has not been followed, the edge of the bowl having been made to pass across the occipital bone so that half of this latter is retained in the bowl. All the edges, with the exception of the orbital, show abundant and unmistakable signs of having been chipped and smoothed along the entire periphery, in an endeavour to remove the serrations of the sutures, as well as to reduce the thickness of the edges, for more comfortable drinking. The coronal and lambdoid sutures are well marked externally, but only faintly discernible internally. The sagittal suture is only faintly visible externally, and not at all internally. No sign of gum is visible. Perhaps in this specimen it was not necessary to smear gum on the sutures, as these are well closed and possibly would not have leaked. This unique specimen is in the private collection of Mr. F. Smith, of Mt. Dandenong, Victoria, and was obtained by him from a farmer whose father was one of the earliest settlers near Jeparit, in the Lake Hindmarsh district. This man stated that his father, who collected this bowl direct from the natives, always said that the blacks used it to drink from.

The other examples held in Australian collections are :

Type 1, *Water Carriers, Australian Museum, Sydney.*

Reg. No. E.16169. A full cranium, with a strip (one inch wide) of moleskin cloth in a loop for carrying, like a toggle. The interior is filled with grass to reduce spilling of the water. It has been decorated with a pattern of mussel shell fragments set in a black gum which runs

in a band along both temporal bones and then across the frontal bone. Figured by Stockdale in *Australian Magazine*, 1/6/1899, and in *Australian Museum Magazine*, III, No. 7, by Thorpe. Locality: Coorong.

E.17782. Similar in every way (except the mussel shell decoration) to the above specimen. It has no carrying toggle or grass lining. Presented by G. F. Angas. Locality: Coorong.

Type 2, Drinking Cups, Australian Museum, Sydney.

E.9194. The top portion of a skull, with smoothed edges, acquired in 1900. Figured by McCarthy in "Australia's Aborigines," Melbourne, 1957, p. 67, Fig. C. Locality: Coorong.

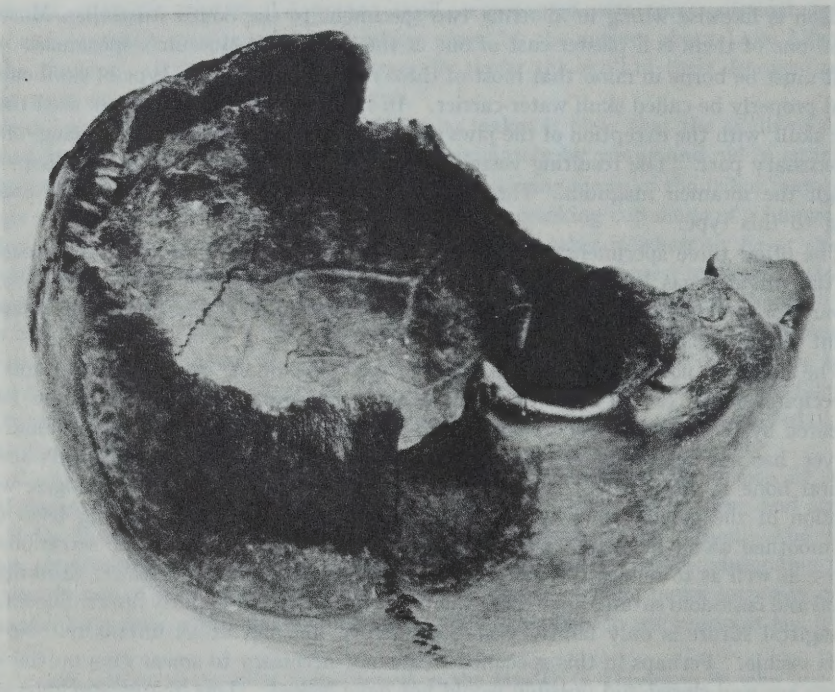

Fig. 1.

South Australian Museum, Adelaide.

Made by Milerum, the last of the Coorong people, and used by him in illustrating a legend he gave to Tindale. Illustrated by Tindale in *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, Vol. 62, Pt. 2, 1938. The native name for such a cup is recorded, viz. 'merikin.

National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne.

Top of a skull, with smoothed edges, found close to a spring of sweet water at Port Sorell, north coast of Tasmania. Illustrated by A. L. Meston in *Memoirs of the National Museum of Victoria*, 20, 1956.

Apart from the above examples two specimens of Type 1 have come under the writer's notice. These are in England, one in the Pitt Rivers Collection and the other in the Christ Church Collection, Oxford University Museum. These are figured by Balfour.[3] Both of these, which are simply labelled " South Australia," have the sutures sealed with gum and are ornamented with pieces of shell.

Three other examples are in the Giglioli Collection at the Museo Civico at Florence, Italy. No. 359 is of type 1. A free translation of the original description reads *Pirra Koole* ?, container for water, made of the cranium of a woman, lacking the facial parts. The sutures of the squami sealed with black gum on which are affixed small pieces of white shell. A rough double-looped cord is used for suspension, and it passes through the occipital forum and the anterior break. From the *Pankinyeri, Marrinyeri* at Lake *Coorong*, South Australia.

The other two examples are of type 2. A translation from the original Italian reads :

No. 2. *Pirra-koole* ? Cup made with the posterior part of a human cranium, very rare. From the *Narrinyeri Wellinyeri*, of the lower *Murray*, South Australia.

No. 2747. *Pirra koole* ? Water container made from the upper portion of a human cranium cut across the occipital and orbital bones. The sutures sealed with gum, portion of which is lost. The external surface is polished by lengthy use. There are four holes, two behind and two in front, through which are threaded the original cords, for suspension. It is a very rare object. Collected from the *Narrinyeri Rumiyeri* of *Encounter Bay*, South Australia.

The reference to the four holes and suspension cord in this specimen is interesting. It does not necessarily follow, though, that the cords were attached for carrying the cup over long distances, but could have been used primarily for ease of carrying it to the camp.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. F. Smith of Mt. Dandenong, Victoria, for allowing me to borrow the skull-cup in his possession for study and photographic purposes ; to Mr. N. B. Tindale of the South Australian Museum, and Mr. F. D. McCarthy of the Australian Museum, for particulars of the specimens in their care.

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A. Massola.

Australia: Mythology. **McCarthy.**

The Story of the Mungan or Bagadjimbiri Brothers. *By F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr. (Syd.), Curator of Anthropology, Australian Museum.*

During a visit to the Port Hedland district in July-August, 1958 (financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc.), the superintendent, Mr. E. Mitchell, of McLeod's, or the Two-mile camp of Aborigines, volunteered to bring together several old men who would relate to me the " big story " of their people. The men were Paddy Bong and Tommy Koppin, of the Njamal tribe. They were instructed by Mr. Mitchell not to reveal the words of the many songs forming part of the myth because these are sung only when the incised sacred boards, which are stored to the south of Port Hedland, are displayed and handled. As my time was fully occupied with the recording of rock engravings, and I did not have a tape recorder, I did not attempt to arrange any special sessions for this purpose. It may be stated here, however, that the photographing of the many sacred boards in such secret caches, and the recording of the associated myths, is a major task for the anthropologist in Western Australia. All of these boards should be numbered and none should be allowed to leave the State.

The belief in the two brothers is widespread among the north-west Australian and neighbouring tribes. Piddington (1932, 46–51) described the main elements of the Bagadjimbiri myth as related by the Karadjeri tribe. Davidson (1949, 93) gave another version from a Njangumada informant and linked it with the Wadi Kuthara (or Kudjara) myth.

The following is the Njamal version that was related to me. The two brothers, called Mungan, came out of the ground at Bagadjimbiri,[1] in the middle of the desert. They were big men, painted red on their chests and bellies, and each wore a human hair belt (*ngurrirri*), pubic fringe (*mundiljirri*) of opossum or kangaroo hair twine, armlet (*djilamindi*) of the same material, and a sacred stick (*djilburri*) through the hair or head band across the back of the neck, and a headband (*jalgirri*) of fur twine. Each one carried a sacred board (*pulliwinna*) in each hand. When they came to the Njamal country there was no sea, the land was covered with spinifex grass (*gorbun*) which they burnt when the sea (*gudjungura*) flowed over the land to its present position. All of the animals and plants came up out of the ground.

As the brothers travelled through the country they saw the following animals and other things, about each of which they sang a song: shell, *buggandjerri*; bailer shell, *djuggali* or *pingga*; sea eagle, *windjerika* or *wilburra*; fish-net, *duggora*, which they made out of spinifex fibre string, *pundu*; many kinds of fish which came out of the ground in the full moonlight, *gunnarun*; frog, *djungguda*; and the water snake, *gurraguddura*. As they travelled inland they saw and sang songs about the following: carpet snake, *ngummulgul*; budgerigar, *wirribarri*; crow, *waggura*; river gum, *pardi*, of which they ate the gum; galah, *pilagu*, meaning a big mob of them; white cockatoo, *piddira*; mole, *jinbur*, white in colour, which burrows under the ground at night in all directions to find food; a bird, *widun*; hawk, *warring-warring*; hawk, *galgulja*; wedge-tail eagle, *warringkinna*, a big one; yam, *gundja-mirra*, a long fat one.

They walked up a hill on which blackberries (*muggadu*) were growing, and as they were good to eat, they ate some of them. They saw a man named Malberri, armed with a long

[1] It is situated on Anna Plains.

spear, but he ran away and they did not pursue him. They were now following the Shaw River. They drank from a pool of sweet water, called Murunja, at the bottom of a hill. They sang songs about these things.

They then sat down and made some weapons, singing a song about each one as they made it, using a sharp stone (*gunbunja*) set in gum on a stick as an implement. They made a spearthrower, *walbarra*, on which they carved a zigzag design; spear, *gildjedda*, the head (*tarrawin*) of which was tied on with kangaroo-tail sinew and secured with gum; spear with a double row of barbs, *wallagurri*; plain spear, *ga-ru*; and a sword club, *wadu wadu*. They showed the people how to make and use these weapons.

Continuing their journey, they came to Midjirrinbah, a long island in the middle of the De Grey River. It is covered with catjeput trees, and is situated between Muccan Station and Ettrick Out-station, and they camped on it. At Morowun, east of Ettrick Station, they saw rain clouds coming (*gulara dibungunja jindawara*), then lightning striking (*wilu daral gooreeri gooreeri*) as part of a big storm. They saw a big man, with his chest painted black, who ran away from them but who got burnt and turned into a lizard (*gulgarli*). They went on to Gurraburu, on the eastern side of Yarrie Station on the De Grey River, where they cut down a corkwood tree and made two shields (*mindi mindi*) out of the wood. They sang a song about each one of these things.

They camped at the junction of two streams at Garunja, and sang a song about the water (*ngaba*). Each brother carried a large (*djudadjuda*) and a small (*wagga*) bark bundles tied with string which contained various sacred articles, including a stone knife (*djimari*) for circumcizing. They saw a big anthill (*mungu*) with a fresh patch built on one side. They broken open this patch, collected the white ants (*mullada*), cleaned the dust from them, put them in the strong sunlight to die and roast, when they ate them. Young locusts (*balbi-bulbirra*) were singing in the trees all around them, so they made a fire round one tree to cook them for eating, and did the same with the big locusts (*djidara*). They sang songs about ants and locusts.

The brothers continued their journey across the De Grey River and into the desert, and sang a song about the following animals that they saw: lizard, *wandjijirra*, with a rough tail like a goanna; blue-tongue lizard, *gomida*; goanna, *wangali*, little one, and *murrundu*, big fat one; black goanna, *budungurra*; lizard, *mulirr*, a big red one which has a toilet in its nest; opossum, *murragura*; and porcupine, *djerribugga*. The brothers were now hungry and wanted some food to eat. They set alight to the spinifex grass to drive out the snakes, lizards and other animals, of which they caught a lot and cooked them, and had plenty of meat. They sang a song about each one of these animals.

They returned towards the De Grey River, to Nummulwalindja (where McLeod's group of Aborigines from Port Hedland is mining manganese). It is part of a long ridge, Murunjuga, near a hill, Wadera, some high hills, Munderinja, and one very big hill, Bugganjar. This place is about one mile from Yarrie Station. They saw a black tailed wallaby (*wandira*), which they speared in the belly and cooked in a stone oven (*murirri*). They sang songs about the wallaby and how it was hunted and cooked, and also about a plains kangaroo that they saw. They then saw a python (*palgundji*, a quiet fellow bigger than a carpet snake), about which they sang a song. As they travelled on, they saw smoke from a camp fire, which they visited and killed all of the people present, who were wild natives (*pedong*) from the desert. They sang a song about this incident, and also about a number of snakes that they saw, as

follow : a savage white snake, *gulibirri*, four to five feet long, which can kill a man ; a quiet snake, *muggulja*, " little bit " white in colour ; a very dangerous snake, *laur* ; and a long black snake.

They walked on, carrying the *pulli winna* boards, to a claypan called Jandilja, on the western side of the De Grey River, where they camped for the night. A big wind (*buljuru*), which blows when the wagtail (*djiddi-djiddi*) comes in the winter, was blowing, and they waited for it to stop. They sang songs about this wind and the wagtail, and then about an owl (*gulgul*) which calls at night, a dingo puppy (*wanna*) which they killed at Juruljunda and ate his head.

They travelled on a long way to a big plain between the Oakover and De Grey Rivers, singing songs about a white quartz hill called Biddu-biddu in the middle of the plain, a white plains kangaroo (*waringgura*), and a very big plains kangaroo (*budjibinja*).

As they continued on their way they saw a big black hill, Wadara Wadara (Ragged Hills, where the white man is now mining manganese). The manganese was put there by the Mungan brothers for anyone to find. They sang a song about this hill. They came to another high hill, Murrara, near the Nullagine River, and walked on to the De Grey again, on the eastern side of Braeside Station, where they camped. They sang a song about this hill, and the place at which they camped. In the morning they saw a kookaburra (*gurrawalgun*), and a parrakeet (*bunbun*), about each of which they sang a song.

They then made a hole right through a big hill, Mudjarunja, near Gorowain. They heard a noise of OOooOOooOOoo in the hole, and caught a number of natives in it whom they taught to circumcize with a light round stone (*djimari* or *gullumbugurra*) held in the fingers. They cut the foreskin off neatly in one piece without causing any pain, rubbed powdered charcoal on the wound, and made the patient sleep beside the fire. While he was asleep they made a shaving (*puggu-puggu*, curled when it is cut on a stick) which they showed to him. They sang songs all night about circumcizing these people and teaching them how to do the operation. They then made a kangaroo-fur twine headband (*maura*) and a long coil of fur twine which they put on the circumcized man's head. He showed himself to the women and his female relatives, who sat around the fire and cried. He finally had to sit in the smoke of a big fire, to be made " proper strong," and he was then called a *mu-du* or circumcized man. The Mungan brothers, however, caught him again, laid him across a bed of leafy branches, and between two other men, and subincized (*parra*) him halfway down the penis. He was then allowed to wear a curved stick (*djinning*) across the back of his neck, and a feather plume (*mulja mulja*) in his hair. The Mungan brothers sang more songs about the smoking of the man, the ornaments he was allowed to wear, and the subincision operation.

The Mungan brothers were now very tired and weary from their long journey, too exhausted to live any more. The sky came down to the ground and took them back with it, and they can now be seen as two bright white stars, one high and one low, in the sky. They died, but live on as spirits in the sky, which is a very fertile place with plenty of food. All dead people are taken up into the sky by the brothers.

The Mungan brothers make women and babies. They sing about women, about sexual intercourse, and about pregnant women (*jabun-jum-ngaluga*).

Another version, obtained from Norman, a Njangumada man of about fifty years of age from the Oakover or southern end of this tribe's territory, is as follows : The Mungan brothers

were two big men who came from the eastern end of the Ngungamada country. They travelled westward through the country and sang songs about the following animals and other things they saw: a long tailed green bird, *gurula-gurula*; spring in the desert, *garapardi*; water snake in the spring, *wandiguda*, a big one, and when the brothers went near the spring and saw it they became frightened and ran away; a mob of circumcized young men or *mudu*; and a little rat-like animal, *dilga*. The brothers were thirsty now, and at midday did not know where to find water. They saw rain (*ngaba*) falling a long way away, and sang a song to make the rain fall where they were. The song was about a storm, and it brought the storm with lightning to where they were singing, and they had a drink of water. They travelled further on into the desert to Maru and to Gida, both rockholes holding water, and sang songs about these places. They went on until they reached the Causeway at Wallal, and at another soak, Djammunga, where they saw a big bird (*emmio*, like an emu, but the informants said it was bigger than this bird) which ran away, and they sang a song about never catching it. As they walked on, they saw a man named Bunamba, armed with a spear, who ran away when he saw them, and though they did not chase him they sang a song about him.

They saw a rat-like animal (*dilga*) and a blackfellow in a cave. The latter was very frightened and ran away. They went into the cave to look for him, and then saw him down by the De Grey River. They sat and swung on a branch for a while, until they stalked and caught the man, and tied him up tightly; when, however, they tried to circumcize him they found that his skin was too hard, because he was a Ngarla tribesman, so they let him go and for this reason the Ngarla (and Kariera also) men are not circumcized. The Mungan brothers sang songs about the *dilga* and the Ngarla man.

They came to a straight tree, which one brother climbed to cut out a piece of wood to make a spearthrower (*walbara*). The other brother, who stayed on the ground, was caught and carried away by a big dog (*mai:ada*, " as big as a horse "). His brother made a two-piece spear, the head of which was bound with kangaroo-tail sinew and sealed with spinifex gum (*paru karral*). He trailed and killed the dog with a club (*bulbwa*) and saved his brother. They sang a song about this incident.

They next saw a kangaroo's track (*widjuru djeana*), followed it over the hill, and speared the kangaroo which ran away with the spear in its body, and they sang a song about never catching it.

They went on and saw a Njangumada man, whom they stalked and caught, turned him on his back and circumcized (*wilgana*) him with a stone knife (*djimari*). He was a *muruguru* before the operation and a *mu-du* after it. They sang a song about this man.

They camped at a waterhole, Jalalu, about which they sang a song, on the western side of the De Grey River. As they went on, they heard a flock of little ground birds (*guda guta*) and threw stones at them to chase them away. They call *kort-kort-kort* at night. They then saw a little kangaroo which they chased, speared, cooked (*pagunjati*) and ate. They sang songs about these birds and the kangaroo. They were now past Barromine Station in the Warrawagine district.

They went back to Galaru, where they swung a bullroarer (*pulliwinna*). They saw a plains kangaroo (*waringuru*), which they stalked, and sang a song to enable them to catch it. The kangaroo sat down on a little ridge, but as the brothers stalked it, singing all the time, the ridge rose so high that they could not catch the kangaroo. It became the hill known as Wilbangnarigunja. They reached the Oakover River, where they camped. A south wind

was blowing in the night, and they heard a noise up the river. It was a flood (*gulburr*) and they ran away into the Njabali country to escape from it. They sang songs about these animals and incidents.

Davidson's version (1949, 93) is also Njangumada and is as follows : The Wadi Kuthara myth is also known as *purkardjimbar*. The two mythical heroes, one belonging to the Karimera section, the other to Banaga, who were thus *yinini* or cross-cousins, wandered westward along the coast past Wallal to the De Grey River. Here they turned south and came up the river. They busied themselves with altering the landscape. Pools were made in the river, outcrops of rocks were thrown up, holes were made in rocks, and various peculiar features of the local terrain were formed. Along the lower De Grey they encountered very large, fierce, carnivorous animals called *myerda* which now are not in existence. These beasts killed one of the heroes but the other resuscitated him and they resumed their journey. Sometimes they walked on the ground, sometimes they flew through the air. On a hill between Warrawagine and Rudall creek they left a large churinga, which subsequently was stolen by a man named Kariridi . . . When they returned for the churinga and could not find it they looked about, and finally saw it projecting from the Southern Cross, where it appeared as a dark spot. They introduced the Southern Cross into a ceremony and changed its name from *iwari* to *yindari*. After visiting Nullagine they turned back east and went underground in a big hill formed from a stack of churingas and bullroarers at Wardjawa, near Rudall creek. In addition, he said (*op. cit.*, 94), the Nangumarda attribute to the Wadji Kuthara the introduction of circumcision and subincision, boomerangs, straight spears, the fire-plow, the four section system, bullroarers, churingas, the thread cross, and various songs and ceremonies. The exploits of the Wadji Kuthara are known along the Canning Route.[2]

The Njamal version agrees with those of the Karadjeri and Njangumada in the basic contents of the myth in the following activities of the brothers : (1) Instituting geographical features as they travelled ; (2) singing songs about places, people, animals, plants and food ; (3) meeting people and other culture heroes ; (4) introducing various weapons ; (5) introducing circumcision and subincision with stone knife ; (6) both were big men ; (7) carried sacred boards with which the Bagadjimbiri brothers of the Karadjeri made waterholes and springs but which the Mungan did not use in any way ; (8) wore a sacred stick across the back of the head ; (9) went into the sky at death. The Njamal version does not mention (1) the origin of the brothers as dingoes later to become big men ; (2) creation of the world, people, humans, animals and plants ; (3) becoming water snakes at death ; (4) creating waterholes with sacred boards ; (5) the mother Dilga (which is the name of a rat-like creature in the Njamal and southern Njangumada versions) ; (6) their murder and revivification.

Although the incidents vary in the different versions, it is apparent that the Njamal version is a simple and early one lacking the more complex features of the versions to the north. All versions stress what appears to me to be the main feature of the myth, the fact that the brothers were the bearers of circumcision with a stone knife (to which the name *djimari* is always given). The myth probably dates from this event and may be equivalent in time with that of the Little Hawk or Ullagubbera spirit men who came from the north and introduced circumcision with a stone knife and the four section system to the Aranda in central Australia (Spencer and Gillen, 1927, I, 312–9). Thus we have here a time point in

[2] Tindale, 1936, and Mountford, 1937, have described their travels in the southern desert region of Western Australia.

the mythology of Australia, within the vast area of circumcision, to which many other heroes and spirit people may be linked. It is obvious, too, that the interlocking key design of the Karadjeri was supplanting the older zigzag motif on the sacred boards ; those of the Mungan, however, still retained the latter pattern. Thus as time passed these brothers were credited with introducing all or most of the new ideas or techniques acquired by a tribe in this region, the stone adze and subincision being added in the case of the Njamal, whereas in other tribes, such as the Aranda, separate bands of spirit people introduced different traits.

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Australia : Social Anthropology. **Bell.**

Some Demographic and Cultural Characteristics of the La Perouse Aborigines. *By J. H. Bell, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.*

In this paper some demographic, residential and cultural characteristics of the mixed-blood Aborigines of La Perouse, a peripheral suburb of Sydney, are described, and mention is made of how they differ from the white population of the suburb.

Size, Duration and Stability of the Aboriginal Population.

In a study such as this in which the subjects constitute a social group, the size of its membership, its duration and stability are important factors in relation to its social structure. The size of a group, which may range from two to any number of members, will obviously affect relationships between members and the pattern of these relationships. Duration is the length of time a group has been in existence. A group may be temporary or have varying degrees of permanence, determined by the group's purpose. Duration provides the time for a group to develop norms for the guidance of the behaviour of its members. Stability, the degree to which a group persists in time with essentially the same properties, is reflected by the constancy of size and the rate of membership turnover. A group can persist though members leave and others take their place ; that is, a group can have social circulation. Nadel writes that " the group . . . (is) independent of the concrete individuals who, at any given moment, are its members. Thus groups renew their human material in some manner, which poses the problem of ' recruitment '."[1]

Group recruitment may be " open . . . individuals can join at will " or " closed in some degree . . . imposing conditions of entry." These conditions may be special qualifications

[1] S. F. Nadel, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, 1951, p. 147.

which are " vested," attributes which a person cannot change, such as sex, age, race, and descent, or " contingent," attributes which can be acquired, such as finance and occupational skill. Some " closed " groups have " compulsory " recruitment in that individuals possessing certain qualities are automatically recruited into the group, as one is born into a family or conscripted into an army.[2]

The La Perouse Aborigines number 555. This is the permanent population and constitutes the aboriginal group. There is also a floating aboriginal population whose size varies and which is difficult to determine.

Problems arose in collecting statistics for the Aborigines. A one-day census was impracticable and the statistics were collected over many months. Statistical adjustments were made from records of the Aborigines' Welfare Board. The floating population and the mobility of sections of the permanent population added to the difficulty. There was no efficient system for recording the former. Visitors to the Reserve should report to the manager, but few do and no records are kept. Further, there is no way of knowing the number of visitors being accommodated by Aborigines living off the Reserve.

TABLE I.

Permanent Aboriginal Population, La Perouse, 1880–1956.

Year.	Population.	Average Yearly Increase over Ten-year Periods to 1940, then 1954 and 1956.
1880..	26	—
1890..	55	2·9
1900..	70	1·5
1910..	106	3·6
1920..	124	1·8
1930..	140	1·6
1940..	280	14·0
1954..	510	23·0
1956..	555	4·5
Average yearly increase:		
1880–1930		2·3
1931–1956		15·9

The La Perouse Aborigines date from 1880 and in 76 years have increased from 26 to their present number. This increase falls into two periods (Table I). The first is from 1880 to 1930. The Protector of Aborigines, and later the Aborigines' Protection Board, successfully controlled immigration up to 1930. Over this fifty-year period the average yearly increase was 2·3 persons, including natural increase and immigration. Population control was achieved despite a large floating population. A Protection Board report of the period states : " The camp is a centre of attraction for Aborigines from the South Coast who are always trying to get to Sydney." Police and later resident missionaries kept the floating population moving, and many visitors were forcibly returned to the South Coast. Managers of South Coast reserves were instructed to discourage Aborigines from visiting La Perouse. To discourage them, visitors were refused rations and the use of fishing equipment supplied by the Government to the permanent population. Persistent offenders were sent to the New South

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 151–156.

Wales Aborigines' Protection Association's reserves at Maloga and Warengesda on the Murray river.

The second period is from 1930 to 1956, when the Aborigines increased almost four times from 140 to 555, an average annual increase of almost 16.

In 1930 some visitors defied the Protection Board and founded an unauthorized aboriginal camp, Frog Hollow, on the boundary of the Reserve. No action was taken against them, however, lest they be driven into the white unemployment camps set up unofficially at La Perouse during the depression. This would have been contrary to the Protection Board's policy of protection and segregation for the Aborigines. The increase continued during the war and post-war years, and has been maintained up to the present. This is despite efforts by the Aborigines' Welfare Board (since 1940) and the local government authority to discourage immigration.

The Aborigines are mobile, but this needs qualification. They are not mobile in the sense that they have no permanent home and wander wherever the whim takes them. La Perouse is their home. Their mobility refers to their visits to the South Coast and elsewhere. After the Aborigines settled at La Perouse in 1880 they continued to visit the South Coast, their former home. At first visits were haphazard, but in time became seasonal. During summer something short of an emigration *en bloc* took place. The authorities discouraged this mobility and with the passing years it gradually declined to its present proportions.

The motives for this mobility are economic and social. People go off for short periods to find work or to visit relatives. Further, the excitement generated by large numbers of Aborigines who gravitate to crop-picking, fishing and timber-getting centres, is an attraction. Occasional religious conventions held at Wreck Bay attract people from La Perouse.

Some are more mobile than others. There are the habitues, the coastal drifters, who claim La Perouse as their home, but spend their time wandering along the coast. They provide a channel of communication among aboriginal groups. They carry messages, news, gossip and acquire useful economic information. Men have always been more mobile than women. Boys in their teens have the custom of wandering in pairs or small groups to the South Coast on a type of grand tour. This is a carry-over from former times when boys went on sight-seeing tours following their initiation.

Since 1948 mobility has markedly declined. The Welfare Board's policy is to turn the Aborigines into a settled people with an urban rather than a rural orientation. Three official measures have debilitated if not eradicated mobility. Reserve houses are forfeited if tenants absent themselves longer than a month. To overcome this some members of each house (particularly women) remain at home while others go off. Fishing licences are refused to those wishing to participate in the South Coast fishing season. Some affected stay at home, but others go off and have difficulty finding other employment. Undesirables (criminals, itinerant gamblers and prostitutes) are discouraged from visiting the South Coast, as are women who have little possibility of obtaining employment under present conditions.

The second reason is the decreasing demand for aboriginal seasonal workers because of the substitution of mechanical equipment for labour in market gardens and the change from vegetable crops to pig-farming by some companies formerly employing seasonal workers. The declining labour demand has decreased the numbers making for crop-picking centres, but still more go than can find work. Some men have transferred to timber-getting centres on

the South Coast and at Burragorang Valley. Importantly, however, there has been no substitute employment for female and child crop-pickers who now stay at home in increasing numbers. But some women still go south to visit relatives and others accompany their husbands to prevent them squandering their wages before returning home or forming liaisons with other women. Women are not permitted to accompany men to timber camps. The decline in the mobility of women has affected the mobility of others, particularly children. To-day, compulsory schooling prevents children from journeying south during school term.

Turnover of the permanent population is not high. Voluntary and involuntary emigration takes place. Marriage to a person from the South Coast may take a member away. After 1940, when rations ceased at La Perouse, some emigrated to South Coast reserves. Some from Frog Hollow emigrated in 1955 when the local government authority demolished their shacks. Emigration of old people is a feature of the group, reasons for which will be given below. Others have apparently migrated to escape the police or intolerable marital relationships. Neglected or delinquent children are occasionally sent to other Reserves. Some members have been expelled from the Reserve for various misdemeanours and forced to leave La Perouse because of the inclusion of " a radius clause " in the expulsion order. But on the whole emigration has drained off very few people in the last few years.

The large floating population gives the impression that the Aborigines are more mobile than they are. In the floating population South Coast Aborigines predominate. Other regions are represented in small numbers. Aborigines come to visit relatives or their children who are wards of the Welfare Board, to seek employment, particularly in the timber camps at Burragorang Valley (La Perouse being the recruiting centre), or for medical treatment. Others are attracted to the city with its commercial recreational facilities, hotels and other diversions. Returning at week-ends timber-getters bring their work mates with them. Further, Aborigines in the railway maintenance " flying squad " stationed along the coast make for La Perouse when off duty to spend their money and to obtain women. Occasions such as the Sydney Royal Easter Show and any special aboriginal activity such as a religious convention organized by one of the aboriginal churches attracts visitors. Every year one hundred aboriginal children from different parts of the State attend the Welfare Board's summer holiday camp at La Perouse. The picture of the floating population is one of a continuous coming and going of Aborigines whose sojourns vary from a few days to several months. The manager of the Reserve keeps them on the move as best he can.

The floating population favours males. They are more mobile than females, particularly over large distances. They are also free from the responsibility of child care. This is not to say that women (and children) do not figure in the floating population, but only that they are represented in smaller numbers.

The group is self-perpetuating. Recruitment is mainly by birth, but immigration exists. Members leave the group when they die or migrate. In terms of the above discussion, recruitment is closed, compulsory and automatic. Qualifications for membership are vested, that is, racial.

When this study was made the white population of La Perouse totalled 2,280, of whom (according to local government estimates) almost 90·0% had arrived since 1950 encouraged by the opening up of the suburb, cheap building blocks, and the industrial growth of neigh-

bouring suburbs. It is not possible to trace the statistical growth of the white population before the 1954 census because it was never recorded separately, being under 500 except in the depression, and was included in the population figures for the Municipality of Randwick as a whole.

There were no whites at La Perouse when the Aborigines came in 1880, but some came with the establishment of the Prince Henry Hospital at Little Bay in 1881. In 1885 two garrisons of soldiers arrived, but few remained after 1905, when the area was made available for recreational purposes. White settlement did not come until the 1920's but the area failed to attract many residents. The depression brought hundreds of unemployed whites and two unauthorized camps sprang up. There is no record of the exact number in these camps, but a local government document of the period recorded that "hundreds of unemployed white people are living at La Perouse in two camps stretching from Bumborah Point to Congwong Bay." With the end of the depression, most whites migrated. The 1939–1945 war brought in another military population to be withdrawn at the war's end. The present white population began to establish itself about 1948.

While figures are not available for the white population over the years the trend is clear enough. From 1881 to 1950 numbers were small and markedly unstable. Few whites settled permanently, most (e.g. soldiers and the depression population) came only for short periods, and for much of the time the area was almost devoid of whites. It has only been since 1948 that La Perouse has seen the beginning of a permanent residential population of any size.

Biological Characteristics of the Aborigines.

Here the sex and age compositions of the permanent aboriginal population and the birthplaces of its members are examined. Reference is also made to racial characteristics.

The sex ratio shows an excess of males, 296, 53·3% of the population, to 259 females, or 46·7% (Table II). However, because of mobility the ratio varies considerably usually favouring females. Statistics available on the sex composition of the population over the years have favoured males. The white population shows a slight excess of males (1,155, 50·7%) over females (1,125, 49·3%) (Table II).

Table II.

Composition by Sex of Permanent Aboriginal Population at La Perouse Compared with White Population.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Aborigines ..	296 (53·3%)	259 (46·7%)	555 (100·0%)
Whites	1,155 (50·7%)	1,125 (49·3%)	2,280 (100·0%)

Table III shows the age composition of the permanent aboriginal population. It will be seen that there are certain differences in the age profiles of males and females. There are higher proportions of males between 5–15 years and 16–20 years than females, but the latter have larger proportions in all other age categories.

The aboriginal population is younger than the white population. The proportion of Aborigines over 21 years is 47·9%, compared with 55·4% for whites. The lack of statistics for the ages of the Aborigines over the years makes it impossible to trace any changes which may have taken place in their age composition.

Mention must be made of probable inaccuracies in the age data of the Aborigines. Some misstated their ages, mainly because of ignorance of their correct ages. But most of these were able to give approximate ages which could often be checked with others acquainted with them. In age approximations there was a preference for " round figures " and other attractive digits which produced both understatements and overstatements. Wilful misrepresentation of age did occur, but was not pronounced. The practice seemed confined to old people attempting to obtain pensions before being legally entitled to them, and to children approaching school leaving age. The motivation in the first case was economic, and in the second was the wish to escape the school situation, which few aboriginal children find congenial.

TABLE III.

Age Composition of Permanent Aboriginal Population at La Perouse Compared with White Population

Ages..	0–4 %	5–15 %	16–20 %	21–65 %	66 and Over. %	Total. %
Aborigines :						
Males	13·7	26·1	13·7	43·2	3·3	100·0
Females ..	16·9	23·7	10·1	45·9	3·4	100·0
Persons ..	15·3	24·9	11·9	44·5	3·4	100·0
Whites :						
Males	11·9	23·5	7·1	50·3	7·2	100·0
Females ..	13·9	24·4	8·5	48·5	4·7	100·0
Persons ..	13·0	23·8	7·8	49·4	6·0	100·0

Misrepresentation of age was more common among whites, and while misstatements occurred because of ignorance of correct age, carelessness and preference for certain digits, most were deliberate, arising from economic, social or personal motives. For whites, advancing years is a calamity. " Too old at forty " has become the stock phrase in much of the economic world, and there is a marked tendency among Australian males on reaching forty to understate their ages for economic reasons.[3] Except in the cases given above, the Aborigines did not wilfully misstate their ages for economic purposes. This indicates that they are not fully incorporated into the white economic system, where age determines usefulness. Their economic assimilation has a long way to go. Growing old does not have the same distress for Aborigines that it does for whites. In former times old age brought respect and authority for the Aborigines, and while much of this has broken down, the situation is not comparable with white society, which is geared to favour young people. White women in Australia are notorious for wilfully misrepresenting their age by understatement from the age of thirty onwards, mainly for social and personal motives, although economic motives are not obscured.[4] No comparable misstatement occurred among aboriginal women, which suggests that they are not under the same social pressures as white women to conceal their ages.

[3] *Statistician's Report on Commonwealth of Australia Census*, 1947, p. 47.
[4] *Ibid.*

Two factors help explain the youthfulness of the aboriginal population. One is the emigration of old people. Aborigines are nostalgic about their birthplace and when old age approaches, if not born at La Perouse, tend to migrate to their birthplaces to await death. This is a carryover from former times when the Aborigines were physically and spiritually associated with their local country.[5] Further, old people, even if born at La Perouse, who have no close relatives, who lack care and attention or who are being exploited by others on account of their pensions, are sent by the Welfare Board to South Coast reserves to be cared for. There is also a tendency for the group to discourage old immigrants and to attract young ones, and the distance between the South Coast and La Perouse discourages old people making the journey.

The other factor is the birthrate. Aboriginal women at La Perouse have an average of 4·9 children. This is based on a sample of 33 women who produced 153 surviving children. The last official figure places the average at 5·1. In New South Wales as a whole the average number of children per existing union is barely 3.[6] The reproductive age of women is generally taken as between 15 and 45 years inclusive, but because the average age at marriage for white women in New South Wales is mid-twenties, means that they have a potential reproductive capacity which is never utilized. This does not apply to aboriginal women who begin child-bearing in their teens. Again, whites voluntarily restrict their families, but no similar restriction is practised by Aborigines. The difference in the average number of children produced by white and aboriginal unions is partly explained by the different folkways and mores of the two peoples.[7]

The La Perouse Aborigines are not homogeneous in physical appearance. There are no full-bloods in the permanent population, but three-quarter castes, half-castes, quadroons, octoroons and lighter castes are represented, displaying in most cases distinctively aboriginal physical features in varying degrees. Skin colour, the most obvious aboriginal physical feature, ranges from very dark in three-quarter castes through lighter shades in half-castes and quadroons to near white in octoroons, and to white in lesser castes.

Some claiming to be octoroons and quadroons are darker than text-book examples because of suntan. As they work and spend much of their leisure time outdoors, they are exposed to the sun which introduces a deepening of coloration. Tanning accounts for some variations in skin-tone found among full-siblings. Tanning is not avoided because there is no wish to look as white as possible. Men work without shirts and women go hatless and will

[5] The tendency for old Aborigines to return to their birthplaces has been noted by others who have studied mixed-blood Aborigines in New South Wales. E.g., M. Reay (" Native Thought in Rural New South Wales," *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 106, 1949) writes : " Another characteristic of aboriginal culture which persists among mixed-bloods today is the attachment for one's own country. The older people, and often the younger ones when they are ill, desire to return to their own country to die. If an old Aborigine is unable to get back to his own country, he frets continually."

[6] *Official Year Book of New South Wales*, 1948–49, p. 1015.

[7] Cf. A. P. Elkin (" Position and Problems of the Aboriginal Mixed-Bloods of Australia," *Proceedings of the Seventh Pacific Science Congress*, Vol. 7, p. 629, 1953), who states that the average number of live births per aboriginal woman in north-west New South Wales is 5·2. J. Beckett (*A Study of a Mixed-Blood Aboriginal Minority in the Pastoral West of New South Wales*, M.A. Thesis, Australian National University, 1958, p. 151) gives the average as 5·3 for women on Murrin Bridge Aboriginal Reserve. R. M. and C. H. Berndt (*From Black to White in South Australia*, 1951, p. 23) write : " People of mixed Aboriginal-European descent . . . are increasing in number, and on the whole seem to show higher fertility rates than either of the parent stocks. This appears to have no physiological significance but is probably due to environmental and social factors such as . . . a poorly-developed sense of economic responsibility and a readiness to rely on outside assistance to maintain the family . . . produced."

tear sleeves out of their dresses for coolness and expose their arms to the sun. Young people will lie on the beach most of the day and give no thought to tanning effects.[8]

No matter where they lived, most La Perouse Aborigines could not escape detection as Aborigines because of physical appearance. This physical visibility has important social implications. It clearly differentiates them from local whites, and to whites marks them off as a group apart. Even lighter castes who have lost all aboriginal features except a slight skin coloration and who would be accepted as swarthy whites elsewhere find it difficult to escape the aboriginal classification. That swarthy people at La Perouse are regarded as Aborigines is seen by the fact that a southern Italian family has been repeatedly mistaken for Aborigines. Also, in joking situations swarthy whites are likely to be accused of having "a touch of the tar brush."

An interesting phenomenon is those very light caste Aborigines who, though physically indistinguishable from whites, retain their identity as Aborigines. Locally they are known to have aboriginal blood, but elsewhere would pass unquestionably as whites.[9] Their retention of aboriginal identity indicates the strength of their group life and that the definition of Aborigine must be sociological rather than biological.

The heterogeneity in physical appearance does not indicate a multiplicity of racial derivation. The Aborigines are almost exclusively hybrids of white and aboriginal crossings. Only one family exhibits traces of any other racial origin, Chinese. But the members are really trihybrids, having white and aboriginal admixtures as well.

Precise genetic definition is impossible because aboriginal and white ancestors are not satisfactorily obtainable. There are no first generation mixed-bloods and there is no way of knowing to what generation-crossing an Aborigine belongs. Certain factors have obscured past ancestry. Intermixture began with the first contact with whites on the South Coast almost 150 years ago. The shortage of white women in those days led to the prostitution of aboriginal women, but as the white sex ratio improved the need for aboriginal women declined. Thus, the further introduction of white blood was greatly reduced, though not stopped, and that already introduced was to a certain extent absorbed by "back crossings." These recombinations obscured early white ancestry and added to the great variety and complexity of crossings.

When the Aborigines settled at La Perouse in 1880, 10 of the 26 were reported to be full-bloods and the remainder "dark half-castes." In time the former disappeared by intermarriage with mixed-bloods. Had the early policy to isolate the La Perouse Aborigines from whites and other Aborigines been successful, within time they would have developed a definite colour-norm. But this policy was not successful. Aboriginal women were prostituted by whites from the nearby fishing settlement at Botany and by construction gangs and soldiers in the area. The floating population from the South Coast persisted and contributed its

[8] This can be contrasted with the situation described by M. Reay (*Kinship Among Mixed-Blood Aborigines in New South Wales*, M.A. Thesis, Sydney, 1947, and other publications) in north-west New South Wales, where Aborigines, women particularly, desperately try to avoid tanning and heavily powder themselves to appear whiter than they are. R. Fink (*Social Stratification: A Sequel to the Assimilation Process in a Part-Aboriginal Community*, M.A. Thesis, Sydney, 1955) found the same practices in this area and the existence of a colour hierarchy in which lighter colouring gives higher social status. No such hierarchy exists at La Perouse nor has it been reported in other mixed-blood aboriginal settlements in the State.

[9] Cf. *Parliamentary Debates of New South Wales*, Vol. 169, 1943, p. 1620: "There are many . . . who are recognized as Aborigines, but when placed in a crowd cannot be distinguished from white people."

blood in unknown proportions. The mobility of the permanent population provided a similar opportunity.

With the introduction of the assimilation policy in 1940 restrictions on contact with whites have been greatly reduced, but there has been no noticeable increase in white admixture. The Aborigines prefer to mate among themselves, though a handful are living with whites and some births do occur through prostitution.

Birthplaces of the Aborigines.

The birthplace of the Aborigines is an important item in the composition of the group. It is important to know the proportion of immigrants and their birthplaces.

With regard to the birthplace of the Aborigines three main distinctions are drawn: those born at La Perouse, those born on the South Coast, and those born elsewhere. Table IV

Table IV.

Birthplaces of La Perouse Aborigines.

Born at:	%
La Perouse	42·8
South Coast	48·6
Elsewhere	8·6
Total	100·0
(Sample: 173/31%)	

shows that the largest proportion, 48·6%, were born on the South Coast, 42·8% at La Perouse, and 8·6% elsewhere. Thus 91·4% were born at La Perouse and on the South Coast. The significance of the South Coast for these Aborigines can be further seen in Table V, showing the birthplaces of their parents. In 52·5% of the cases both parents were born on the South Coast, and 29·4% were born at La Perouse. In addition, 10·6% had one parent born on the

Table V

Birthplaces of Parents of La Perouse Aborigines.

Birthplace.	%
Both parents born on South Coast	52·5
Both parents born at La Perouse	29·4
One parent born South Coast, one La Perouse	10·6
One parent born South Coast, one elsewhere	3·9
One parent born La Perouse, one elsewhere	2·4
Both parents born elsewhere	1·2
Total	100·0
(Sample: 85/15%)	

South Coast and one at La Perouse, and 6·3% had one parent born at La Perouse or on the South Coast and one elsewhere. All told 67·0% had at least one parent born on the South Coast and 98·8% had one parent born at La Perouse or on the South Coast.

That the South Coast figures prominently in the birthplaces of the Aborigines and their parents helps explain their orientation to the region. Long after the Aborigines came to

La Perouse it was the custom for women to return to their mothers on the South Coast to have their children. The odd case still occurs. This partly explains why the proportion born on the South Coast outweighs that born locally.

Of the 15 in the sample born outside the La Perouse-South Coast region, it is significant that 12 came from the Central Coast and the Far North Coast of New South Wales, both of which were part of the culture area that included the South Coast.[10] The remainder came from different parts of the State.

While the Aborigines have been at La Perouse for over seventy years, the present white population is for the most part a product of the post-war years, and more particularly of the 1950's. Hence few whites can claim La Perouse as their birthplace.

Spatial Distribution of the Aborigines.

The significant spatial distribution of the Aborigines is seen from Table VI and Map 1. They are concentrated in a relatively small area in the western section of the suburb which is acknowledged locally as the aboriginal quarter. This can be divided into three areas which join each other and whose boundaries are ignored by the Aborigines in their interaction with one another. No Aborigine is separated from another by more than five minutes' walk.

Table VI.

Spatial Distribution of the Aborigines, La Perouse

Location.	%
On Reserve	33·0
Off Reserve :	
Frog Hollow	11·0
Western residential area	56·0
Total	100·0

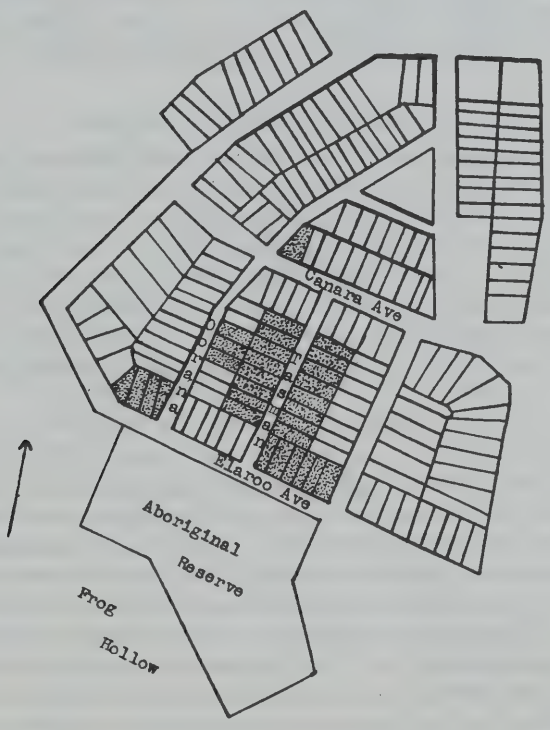
One area is the Aboriginal Reserve, which claims 33·0% of the Aborigines. Joining this on the south is the unauthorized aboriginal camp, Frog Hollow, with 11·0%. Joining the Reserve on the north is the western residential area, in which 56·0% of the Aborigines are located. Most of the Aborigines living in this area are located in two streets close to the Reserve, namely Elaroo Avenue and Tasman Street.

On settling at La Perouse, the Aborigines lived in a camp on the site of the present Reserve. The Reserve was established in 1885, and up to 1930 the Aborigines were confined to it. Their distribution then began to change, but they never became residentially dispersed. Frog Hollow was established and towards the end of the depression eight white men with aboriginal wives and children were given building loans and blocks of land along with other whites by the Homes for the Unemployed Trust. Their houses were built in the western residential area. Some Aborigines, then, have lived in this residential area since its inception. Their numbers have increased with time.

With the end of the depression most of the white population migrated and forfeited their Homes Trust houses. But the Aborigines increased and many squatted in the vacant houses,

[10] See J. H. Bell, "Social and Cultural Change Among the Aborigines of the South Coast Region of New South Wales : A Study in Socio-Cultural History," to be published in 1960 by the University of Indiana.

while others built shacks on blocks of land also forfeited by whites. After the war more Aborigines moved into the western residential area. Several more Homes Trust houses were acquired and one house was built by the Aborigines' Welfare Board. Shacks also increased. Again, more moved into the area in 1955, when the Frog Hollow camp was demolished. The local government authority had hoped the Aborigines would migrate, but few did. They moved in with relatives or built shacks in their backyards. Some have since moved back to Frog Hollow and rebuilt their shacks.



Map 1.—Showing houses occupied by Aborigines in Western Residential Area, La Perouse.

Map 1 shows the distribution of Aborigines in the western residential area. All the houses in Tasman Street are occupied by Aborigines. Elaroo Avenue has 10 houses occupied by Aborigines, divided into two pockets, and Canara Avenue has one. In Oorana Avenue there are three houses occupied by Aborigines. In all, the Aborigines occupy 30 houses. Thus, Aborigines in this area show a marked tendency to live close to each other and to the Reserve. Where dispersion occurs, it is because of factors beyond their control. The house built by the Welfare Board in Canara Avenue was deliberately separated from others occupied by Aborigines in accordance with the assimilation policy. In other cases dispersion has resulted from the lack of vacant houses and blocks closer to other Aborigines.

Although more than half the Aborigines live in the western residential area, it is not because of hierarchical attraction or the desire to be assimilated. It is necessity rather than desire. Many would prefer to live on the Reserve, and there is a waiting list for houses. But the size of the Reserve population is officially controlled. The aim is to encourage the Aborigines off the Reserve and into the residential areas. This is part of the assimilation policy.

The Aborigines, then, have always concentrated on and around the Reserve, and this concentration, indeed segregation, helps to mark them off from whites.

Housing also marks them off from local " house proud " whites. Their houses are in poor condition, and most have been condemned by health authorities. Many dwellings are only shacks.

Other Distinguishing Features.

In addition to demographic and physical characteristics, residential isolation and housing, the Aborigines have other features which distinguish them from whites.

One is language. The Aborigines speak English but have retained remnants of the former aboriginal language. Their pronunciation of English is uneducated Australian of the rural variety. This is not surprising when their history is known. Their rural origin, their continued rural orientation, and because most of their relations with whites have been in rural area, helps to account for their pronunciation. A peculiarity of pronunciation is the dropping and putting on of " h." Another is that many are " short-tongued " in pronouncing words containing " th " and " r."

Everyone, including small children, knows the aboriginal " lingo," but the older the person the greater his knowledge. But nobody knows sufficient to carry on extended conversations. Old people once knew more about the language than they do to-day because of lack of practice. They claim that their parents and grandparents often spoke " the lingo." No effort has been made to preserve the language. Remnants of vocabulary remain and words are strung together without verbs or incorporated into English constructions.

" The lingo " is important to them not because of pride in it or because of any association with their forefathers (although they realize it is something which whites do not have and that it was spoken by their ancestors, the " wild blackfellers," which makes them conscious that their origin and past are different from those of whites), but because of its usefulness. It is a secret language because whites do not understand it, and it is only in their presence that it is heard. It is useful in giving warnings of approaching whites. When whites appear the warning cry of " gubbai," " gub " or " gubs " (white man), " wejamin," " weja " (white woman), " gungiwong " or " gungi " (policeman), or other appropriate terms go up, and are relayed from house to house. In addition to giving a general warning, it warns any engaged in illegal activities (drinking, gambling) of approaching whites.

The Aborigines wear the same clothes as whites but they are usually shabby, dirty, and unironed. Most clothes are second-hand. Men wear shirts and trousers, and women dresses. The most distinctive aboriginal feature of dress is the absence of shoes. This is so general that if a person is wearing shoes it is a clear indication that he is going somewhere, e.g. to Maroubra.

Physical differences, differences in languages, dress and housing which distinguish the Aborigines from whites are overt differences, but there are many covert differences also.

These include folkways and mores, ideational differences and so on which together with the overt differences make up a unique way of life which may be called " mixed-blood aboriginal culture."

The Aborigines know they have an origin different from whites. They know they are descended from " wild blackfellers " who occupied the country, and more particularly the South Coast, before the coming of whites. On the surface " mixed-blood aboriginal culture " is more like white culture than the former aboriginal culture, but actually much of it is based on aboriginal tradition.

Young and old are interested in, and have a limited knowledge of, the former culture. In some ways this past has become idealized but they do not spend their time dreaming about it or bemoaning its passing. None has had any personal experience of the former life, and what they know of it has been related to them by parents and grandparents who themselves probably did not have personal experience of it. Informants said that they regretted not having paid more attention to tales told them by their elders about this past. Whenever the subject of the former culture arose, informants were always interested enough to discuss it and to learn anything that I knew about it. Their interest in this past is based on a curiosity concerning their origin and ancestors, but those who engage in the tourist trade are also interested in it for economic reasons. As tourists inspect their curios, these Aborigines offer them information or answer their questions on different features of the past life to encourage sales. Informants asked me to get them " real blackfeller " designs to copy on to their curios to make them look more authentic, and wanted full details as to their meaning. I also supplied photographs of " real blackfellers " which they wanted to lend atmosphere to their curio stalls.

To-day knowledge of some aspects of traditional life (e.g. religion) is more widely held by Aborigines than would have been so in former times. Women and children know details of the former secret life which only initiated men would have known once. To-day there is no secrecy or emotionalism associated with this knowledge of the past secret life and it is known only as history. They also know the geographic locations of various secret ceremonial sites on the South Coast and directed me to them. These sites were said to be associated with the initiation of youths, but none mentioned their probable association with increase ceremonies. This is not surprising seeing that the native fauna died out early in contact with whites.

The Aborigines also have extensive knowledge of medicine men and continue to believe in their powers, although there are no " clever people " at La Perouse to-day. They also have knowledge of traditional forms of magic and sorcery and native cures. Some know the " meats " of their grandparents. One said his grandfather was " black snake," another said his was " brush possum," and another " hawk."

The main body of traditional myths has passed away but isolated ones remain. More myths are known by older than younger people signifying that they will be lost in time. One myth concerning the origin of the South Coast Aborigines is widely known and believed. It tells of how the Aborigines came to the South Coast in canoes from across the Pacific Ocean. Other myths refer to evil spirits of the bush and to the " yarrama " or " hairy men." These myths are used to frighten children, but adults seem to believe in them. Informants told that once when they were in a timber camp on the South Coast the camp was awakened by " loud yelling " in the bush. They believed the noise was made by a " yarrama," although

no one had ever seen or heard one before. Nobody would go and investigate. They built a fire to keep it away but nobody slept that night, and next morning they moved camp, although there was still much cutting in the area.[11]

This does not exhaust the knowledge the Aborigines have of the former culture, but enough has been said to illustrate that they are conscious of it. They are also conscious that it is a past in which whites cannot share.

J. H. Bell.

OBITUARY:

LINDSAY PAGE WINTERBOTHAM, 1887-1960.

Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, Honorary Curator, Anthropological Museum, University of Queensland, Foundation Member and past President of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, died suddenly in February, 1960, and Anthropology in Queensland and at the University of Queensland in particular has suffered a grievous loss.

Dr. L. P. Winterbotham was born in Adelaide on 14th April, 1887, and spent his first years at Semaphore, where he attended a mixed school. Later, between the ages of 10 and 15 years, he attended St. Peter's College, Adelaide.

Quite early, the choice of medicine as a career was held to be a desirable goal, with an alternative—service in the Royal Navy. However, the University was entered and matriculation taken at the age of 16 years. As one of a party of 20 that constituted the first year medicals (with dissection a first year subject), plenty of hard work was the order of the day and studying until midnight every evening was common practice. The three last years of his course were taken in Melbourne, where he graduated as M.B., B.S. at the age of 20 years in 1907.

As he was not among the first six to finish the course, the necessary hospital experience could not be taken in Melbourne, so a move was made to Brisbane, where he became Resident Medical Officer at the Brisbane General Hospital, being one of four residents who each received £52 per year (as against £12 paid in Melbourne).

After 15 months at the General Hospital, he started work on his own and did a number of *locum tenens* jobs in different parts of Queensland before finally commencing practice at Lowood.

Three years later he married and, after a further 18 months at Lowood, he returned to Brisbane, arriving here in October, 1913, and setting up in practice in Ipswich Road, Annerley, where he continued in residence until his death.

Shortly after coming to Brisbane Dr. Winterbotham received an appointment on the Mater Hospital surgical staff, and remained there for between seven and eight years before retiring through ill health. For many years he was visiting M.O. to the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institute in Brisbane.

He was Lecturer in Medical Ethics at Queensland University for many years, and during the war was very active in Medical Aid Post Establishments, where he worked hard in the

[11] See R. H. Mathews (*Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales*, 1907), who tells of the belief in the "yarrama" among the South Coast Aborigines of his day.

training of personnel for their respective jobs. He was a member of the South Brisbane Rotary Club for many years and gave much public service during this time.

A man of great general knowledge and numerous hobbies during his lifetime, it was during the last 15 years or so of his life that he made the greatest contribution to Queensland when, as the result of the inspiration of a patient friend, he became greatly interested in the Australian Aborigines and their culture.

It was due, in the main, to his efforts that the subject of Anthropology became part of the Queensland University curriculum, and he was almost solely responsible for the collection and establishment of the Ethnological Museum at the University.

On 20th July, 1948, a letter signed by Professor H. J. Wilkinson (then Professor of Anatomy at the Medical School, University of Queensland) and listing Dr. Winterbotham as co-convener and acting secretary, was sent to all known interested people, stating it had been decided to form an Anthropological Society in Queensland and to affiliate this body with similar bodies in South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales.

Professor Wilkinson had been interested in the South Australian Society before coming to Queensland, and Mr. F. S. Colliver, of the Department of Geology, University of Queensland, was a foundation member of the Victorian Society, so there was a nucleus of associated membership already. Sixteen people attended the first meeting, and some 40 others sent apologies and stated their interest in the proposed society.

As a result of this interest, further meetings were held, and on 29th July, 1948, a meeting was called to elect an Interim Council and to draw up the Constitution for presentation at the inaugural meeting, which was eventually held on 28th November, 1948, with Professor Elkin, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, giving the Inaugural Address, entitled "Anthropology To-day and Queensland."

Professor Wilkinson was the first President, and Dr. Winterbotham acted as Honorary Secretary. Two years later Dr. Winterbotham became President, and held this position for two years.

In a broadcast on 10th December, 1948, Dr. Winterbotham stated that "The Society had been formed to endeavour to preserve in Queensland any traces still left of Aboriginal culture and any specimens we can obtain from the Pacific Islands. The Society has set out to collect not only the various wooden and stone utensils, tools and weapons, but also their myths and legends, their customs and religious beliefs and their chants and ceremonies. There is such material still available, but it will not be for long and the society is actively engaged in collecting all it can in order to form it into a museum which will be housed at the University of Queensland and should form an exhibit of which Queenslanders may be glad and proud in the years to come."

Letters were sent out by Dr. Winterbotham to all the Queensland medical practitioners and to all station owners, and as a result a great deal of valuable material was received, much of it rescued from old sheds and from under the house, to which place these one-time cherished items were finally reduced.

Dr. Winterbotham's own collection had been offered to the University in 1948 with the suggestion that it be the nucleus of a collection which would be invaluable when a Department of Anthropology was established at the University. This generous offer was accepted, and Dr. Winterbotham was appointed Honorary Curator of the Museum.

At the official opening of the Museum in its present quarters on 7th October, 1959, the Chancellor of the University of Queensland, Sir Albert Axon, stated the space for the collection was already too small, there having been more than 500 donors and some 10,000 specimens recorded in the catalogues.

Besides these material things, the Museum possesses a large volume of written records pertaining to the Queensland aboriginal records of ceremonies, myths and legends, stories, songs and many other such items that together go to make up a culture.

Altogether, it can be said that the original efforts of Dr. Winterbotham in collecting such items and the later curatorial work he put into the growing museum have resulted in the creation of a cultural item that certainly is something the University and the State can be proud of, and the hope he expressed in 1948 has been proved true in 1960.

It can be truly said that Dr. Winterbotham has left his mark on the wall of culture in Queensland in no uncertain fashion.

F. S. COLLIVER.

REVIEWS:

Anthropology in the South Seas: Essays Presented to H. D. Skinner. *Edited by J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes. Thomas Avery and Sons Ltd., New Plymouth, N.Z. Pp. 267. 26 plates, end-maps.* 1959. *Price £N.Z.2 2s.*

The idea of this book arose out of a conversation at the 32nd meeting of ANZAAS at Otago in 1957. A number of anthropologists decided to publish a *Festschrift* of essays in honour of the seventieth birthday and retirement of Dr. Henry Devenish Skinner. It was rightly felt that his former students and then colleagues should collaborate to that end. Professor W. R. Geddes and Dr. J. D. Freeman were appointed co-editors and, through their joint labours, a handsome, well-produced book appeared about two years later. The dust-cover (itself very attractive) expresses the view that the book will become a landmark in the history of New Zealand anthropology. The sentiments are also those of this reviewer.

The book is beautifully bound, well printed, and made throughout with technical competence. About the only faults that can be found with it are the length of the printed line, which seems a little long for the natural scan of the eye, and an excessive stiffness. In other respects it is admirable. The price is moderate for such quality. The editors and maker are to be congratulated. One is especially grateful for the quality of the plates, maps and diagrams.

The book is made up of a preface by Dr. Freeman, on the life and work of Dr. Skinner; an excellent bibliography (containing more than 150 titles) of his scientific contributions; and 11 essays on various subjects by scholars whom he influenced. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the essays, one of the more remarkable aspects of the collection is the way in which it brings out the debt which world anthropology owes to New Zealanders. If one adds to the impressive list of Dr. Skinner's contributions those of the essayists and of the other Dominion scholars who have written on such topics—one thinks of such names as Elsdon Best, Sir Peter Buck, Fortune, Keesing, Hawthorn, Beaglehole and Belshaw—one reflects how much poorer the collective disciplines of anthropology would be but for the unusual number of creative minds which have come out of a small country. The 11 essayists are all New Zealanders by birth or adoption.

The tribute to Dr. Skinner was undoubtedly richly deserved. He was the first teacher of anthropology in the southern hemisphere, having been appointed Lecturer in Ethnology at the University of Otago in 1919, several years before the Chairs were established at Capetown and Sydney. Then followed nearly four decades of unbroken and enthusiastic effort, of which the bibliography is but partial evidence. The title ascribed to him—" the dean of Polynesian ethnologists "—must be understood with a generous extension. The resuscitation of the Otago Museum was largely his work. So too was the eventual development of a rigorous university course in anthropology in the older, wider sense of the term, so that it included physical anthropology, archæology and ethnology as well as social anthropology. He had much to do with the development of the Hocken Library. He will be remembered also for his ability to enthuse students and attract them to research within rigid professional canons.

As might be imagined, the *Festschrift* covers a wide spectrum of interests. Five essays (by J. Golson, L. Lockerbie, T. T. Barrow, R. Duff and R. Firth) have to do with archæology and material culture. Three (those by Catherine Berndt, J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes) deal with the internal dynamics of social life in New Guinea, Samoa and Fiji. The paper by Professor Firth—on the connections between the technological and the ceremonial uses of the adze in Tikopia—bridges the two groups. The three remaining papers (by Angus Ross, John Booth and W. D. Borrie) are studies of the Polynesians, especially the Maori, in relations with the modern world. The book as a whole straddles centuries, peoples, regions and topics which can scarcely be considered a unity. In the circumstances the title is a misnomer, though an attractive one. Not even in the old, loose and humanistic sense can one bracket prehistory, political commentary and demography as anthropology.

The first essay (" Culture Change in Prehistoric New Zealand ") is a brilliant if brief review of methodological questions in archæology with special reference to the culture history of the Dominion. It compresses into 45 pages a remarkable amount of information brought under critical thought. Together with the four other papers of the first group, it is beyond this reviewer's technical competence, but the clarity of thought and language, the skilful condensations of complex research-data, and the illustrative figures are quite admirable. Even readers who know little of the fascinations—or problems—of prehistory will be able, in this essay, to sense the excitement attendant on the effort, by exact and methodical study, to work out what O. G. S. Crawford called " the past tense of anthropology," and to make good Sir Peter Buck's claim that " a skeleton in its original resting place surrounded by adzes, ornaments and a blown moa egg speaks with more truth concerning the past than the living graduates of an accredited house of learning."

Where Golson leaves off, with many primary issues of prehistory posed—the possibility, among them, of ancient immigrants into New Zealand who may not have been Polynesian, and the need to study the likelihood of a proto-Maori culture between the archaic and the classic Maori—Lockerbie takes up (in " From Moa Hunter to Classic Maori in Southern New Zealand ") the immense detail of known transitions in a particular region. Once again there are an excellent condensation of known data, first-rate illustrations, and a careful preservation of what Dr. Freeman refers to in the preface as Skinner's " instinct against insubstantial conjecture."

The essays by T. T. Barrow (" Free-Standing Maori Images ") and Roger Duff (" Neolithic Adzes of Eastern Polynesia ") are of narrower range because of their subject-matter, but lead

naturally to Raymond Firth's neat paper " Ritual Adzes in Tikopia." Here are investigated the relations between technology and ritual in an island whose contemporary Polynesian-type culture has been studied with meticulous care. Firth's conclusions, that judged by contemporary evidences, the technological and the ritual are not mutually exclusive categories, and that man can pour into the one piece of handiwork his capacities to strive for excellence both as *Homo faber* and *Homo convictus*, are essentially the living proof of what Skinner meant by saying that " to technological experiment was added æsthetic experiment, beauty in the finished product being sought, in some cases, as much as technical efficiency."

The essay by Catherine H. Berndt (" Ascription of Meaning in a Cermeonial Context, in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea ") was written in appreciation of Skinner as a discerning scholar of Polynesian art. It is a thoughtful study of a neglected set of questions which lie awkwardly across the kinds of categories ordinarily applied to the non-necessitous dimension of social conduct. The meaning of things, events or relations must always be a meaning *to* one or more persons *in* a situation of life and/or *on* an occasion. In the analysis of ceremonious events (which Dr. Berndt seeks to distinguish—perhaps not very securely—from ritualized events) it is a complex task to disentangle personal or private meanings from public, literal from figurative or symbolic, and other such categories. The questions are studied with reference to certain songs, dramatic tableaux or mimes, and emblematic designs. The essay creates two dominant impressions. One is that anthropology has still a long way to go before it masters the conceptual and empirical problems of this field. The other is that Dr. Berndt will be amongst the first to produce a formative study.

Dr. J. D. Freeman's essay (" The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult ") is a study of an extraordinary episode in the religious history of early Samoa. The factual content of the paper is remarkably interesting. A Samoan visionary and prophet named Siovili (*Sio*=Joe, *villi*=pumpdrill, so that the early missionaries translated the name as Joe Gimlet) wandered widely in the Pacific in the 1820's and evidently had many fascinating adventures. On his return to Samoa a cult grew up around him which spread and survived for more than 30 years. Dr. Freeman deals with the cult as " a forward-looking movement, a reaching after the longed-for marvels and advantages of the white man's world by means which, in their crass ignorance, the cult members think likely to succeed."

The general *milieu* is sketched clearly : the rather bewildered entanglement of the Samoans with European power, wealth and ideas, including religious ideas. The effects on Siovili, who may already have been a *taulu aitu* or spirit medium, of contact with the heretical Christian cult known in Tahiti as the Mamaia (rotten fruit) movement ; the flowering of much the same ideas in Samoa but with " chiliastic " or millennarian elements more pronounced and with spirit mediumship strongly developed ; the connections between the acceptance of Siovilism and the segmentary social structure of ancient Samoa ; the capacity of the cult to survive fiasco—all these, and other points, are well brought out.

But Dr. Freeman, adopting Firth's thesis of cult (that is, " a systemized series of operations to secure the means of satisfaction by non-technical means "), seeks to clarify the Samoan cultists' motives by using what must surely be the most flatulent platitude uttered by Dr. Johnson :

" Every man is sufficiently discontented with some circumstances of his present state, to suffer his imagination to range more or less in quest of future happiness, and to fix upon some

point of time, in which, by the removal of the inconvenience which now perplexes him, or acquisition of the advantage which he at present wants, he shall find the condition of his life very much improved."

This is an old friend: the pleasure-pain principle, in a pompous 67-word version. It "explains" everything too smoothly, and therefore nothing adequately, in the universe of purpose. It applies equally well to the desire to go to bed, to have breakfast, to write a sonnet, and to see what is on the other side of the hill. If, as Freeman supposes, it has "a nice pertinence to the understanding of cults," then surely all purposive conduct should have the characteristics of cult. The psychology is elementary, and most of us would say bad; what Freeman aptly calls "the swarming growth of cult" is in no wise clarified; and the problems which Dr. Lucy Mair examined in her recent penetrating article on independent religious movements are unreasonably diminished. Yet Dr. Johnson might very well have been cited to true effect. After all, he did say that "life is a progress from want to want, not from enjoyment to enjoyment." And one also remembers the exhortation to attend to the history of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia: "ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the tomorrow . . ." Johnson had a clear sense of the hyperbole of conduct which is cult, but Freeman did not notice it. Much better, surely, for Siovili (who is said to have been found pretending to read a copy of *The Rambler*) to have taken with him on his wanderings Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes of the doctor, especially the passage: "the use of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are."

Just as Dr. Skinner guided Freeman in his first field-work, so he inspired Professor W. R. Geddes, whom he had trained, to study the Fijians. Geddes' essay ("Fijian Social Structure in a Period of Transition") concentrates on the *traditional* structure in its most *typical* form and on actual and possible changes under modern conditions. The concern is to show "the conceptual, emotional and behavioural consistency" of the structure and the effects of new influences on that consistency. The result is an account, in many ways admirable, which deserves to be a standard work of reference for those who incline towards structural analysis and would like to know "how a fairly simply organized and rather static society has been subjected to influences making for structural alteration and diversification." The essay gains from its dry, laconic style. There are many shrewd observations on aspects of modern policy which, one hopes, will not pass unnoticed by the Government of Fiji.

Geddes offers no authority for his acceptance of the figure of 200,000 as the population of Fiji in 1874. Nor should the demographic facts, and the analysis made by Dr. Norma McArthur, have been left out of account in a study explicitly concerning itself with transitions. But possibly it is the main thesis that invites most comment. Geddes makes use of what he calls "the structural concept of category." The so-called "categories" are classes of actual or possible persons in virtue of their relationship to another person or persons. A dichotomy is made into reciprocal and non-reciprocal categories, each being a "mode" of categorization. The "reference point" of the reciprocal category (e.g. "kinsmen") is within itself, and of the non-reciprocal category (e.g. "father") outside itself. The two modes of categorization are interrelated but analytically separable. Both are "relative to single persons and a series of defined groups categorized by mutually reciprocal relationships."

The discussion appears unsound logically. Part of the difficulty comes from the use of " relation " or " relationship " in two senses (for genetic connections and social interaction) without a clear realization that two universes of discourse are being referred to, and that the necessity of their connection is something to be shown, not assumed. Again, a term such as " father " or " son," each of which requires a second term before it makes sense, cannot be a category by itself, though Geddes supposes it can. And the simple dichotomy just will not do : there are triadic and tetradic (as well as more complex) relations to be taken into account besides those which are dyadic. Geddes' scheme does not explore the logical properties of relations, e.g. transitivity and reflexiveness. They are smuggled holus-bolus into the large portmanteau of " social structure." The statement that " the structural concept of category provided a mode of reinforcement between different situations of purposeful activity " does not appear to have any clear meaning. The essay was intended to be mainly of theoretical interest, but it is notable rather for its very clear and judicious handling of ethnographic facts.

From Fiji the book turns to Polynesia, with special reference to the Maori, and to their place and problems in the modern world. Dr. Angus Ross' interesting paper (" Maori and Polynesian : Race and Politics ") surveys the history of the racial argument used to support the Dominion's varying interest in Polynesia. It documents what could well be used as a classical example of the change from high imperialism to ethical fraternalism. A kind of saving grace—that which earned New Zealand at the time of some of its worst blunders in Samoa the good name of being the most single-minded of all the Mandatory Powers—runs throughout the story, and issues in the modern acts of faith towards the Polynesians at home and abroad. But the fact that political wisdom, noble sentiment and practical help have to come to terms with a hard, even harsh, reality of life—the explosive demographic trends of Samoa, the economic weakness of the Cooks, and the inability of either Maori or European in New Zealand to overcome many things which still divide them—is well illustrated by the two last essays.

John Booth offers a compact study (" A Modern Maori Community ") which seems to reinforce the experience of many anthropologists in many countries. Even when, at least in theory, racial discrimination does not exist ; when *apartheid* is unthinkable ; when law, administration, technology and money are all in the service of goodwill—even then, from some joint lack of motherwit, the developmental problems remain formidable, and there is much uncertainty, confusion and heartbreak. Booth writes of the problems on the whole hopefully but is honest in his assessment.

Professor W. D. Borrie analyses the demographic position. The title of his essay (" The Maori Population : A Microcosm of a New World ") epitomizes the theme. A phenomenal change has come since Sir Peter Buck in 1924 wrote of " The Passing of the Maori." The Maori are now an " emergent " population, combining in an almost melodramatic way the effects of high fertility, falling mortality, and changing age-composition. Over the last ten years the annual rate of growth has exceeded 3%. The birthrate is high by any known world standards, and has been since 1940 75% above that of Europeans in New Zealand. But mortality is still considerably higher than that of Europeans, though it has declined spectacularly since the early 1940's. The wastage of life at birth and during infancy and the early years is falling, though still serious, and Maoris at birth still have a life-expectation 15 years less than that of non-Maoris. But the accelerative effect of falling mortality in an emergent population which exercises no rational control over fertility is showing out : for example,

there are 23·66 males and 22·56 females in every 100 Maori in the 0–14 age-group, compared with 15·55 and 14·86 among non-Maori. The whole pattern, in short, is one of dynamic growth. The rate of increase has now soared up to 3·5% annually.

But, if a demographic era has passed, so have a mode and style of life. There is a strong Maori move to the cities (especially to Auckland), and thus to urban rather than rural occupations; and there are large cohorts of young Maori seeking a new life. But what kind, and under what social, economic and political conditions? Borrie sees "explosive possibilities" in the probable movement of young Maori into fields of life which have traditionally been the preserve of Europeans. Racial, cultural and social integration are still far from being attained, and Borrie is undoubtedly correct in seeing "a national and provincial challenge" which requires co-operation and clear thinking by all New Zealanders irrespective of colour.

W. E. H. Stanner.

Chinese Art. *By William Willets. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmandsworth, Middlesex.* 1960. *2 vols. Vol.* 1, *xxxiv*, 389 *pp., Vol.* 2, 413 *pp.* 64 *plates*, 110 *text ill.*, 6 *tables*, 7 *maps. Price in Australia* 10s. 6*d. per volume.*

Among the various educational merits of Penguin Books Ltd. is the publication of an impressive list of works on archæology and Oriental art. Scientific works on the cultures and arts of Asia are always important, in Australia to-day still more so than in any other country. The fact that the publishers of Willetts' work only recently produced another great work on "The Art and Architecture of China" (by Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, in the "Pelican History of Art," ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner, 1956) demonstrates both the amazing capacity for literary production and the discriminative power of Penguin Books Ltd. It is not a secret that Sir Allen Lane's personal interest in and knowledge of archæological problems has been—and still is—the driving force behind the welcome publication of these archæological volumes. We can include Mr. Willetts' volumes in that archæological series for two reasons: in the first place, the work is not only a history of Chinese art, but of early Chinese culture generally, as the necessary background for the understanding of technical, functional and æsthetic features. There is a great deal of Chinese prehistoric archæology, even human palæontology (Vol. I, pp. 26 ff.). Secondly, even within the various spheres of art (sculpture, graphic art, ceramics, bronzes), the author confines himself to the early and archaic periods; thus no sculpture later than T'ang, no painting more recent than the fourteenth century A.D., no pottery later than Sung, and no bronze vessel younger than 250 B.C. are considered in these two volumes. Mr. Willetts is obviously interested in the beginnings and earlier phases of Chinese art only. Those of us who—like the reviewer—share the author's predilection will enjoy the masterly treatment of a limited—though still vast and manifold—subject, while we cannot help noting that the limitation of the scope ought to have been indicated in the title. As it is, readers interested in the portrait painting during the Ming dynasty, and especially those who expected to find information about Kang Hsi and Ming porcelain, will be disappointed. I do not even mention Ming sculpture or bronze vessels because these have always been the stepchildren of European collectors and surely would not deserve treatment in a "respectable" book. The correct title of the work, then, would be "Ancient Chinese Art up to the beginning of the Sung dynasty," and as such

it is an excellent handbook. It will be welcomed not only by students of the earlier phases of Chinese history and of Chinese art but also by ethnologists, especially students of Oceanic cultures and of prehistoric archæology in the Pacific, including Indonesia. A wealth of information about technology and artistic devices may be obtained from this studious work, to the advantage of comparative researches. As an example, I may only refer to the various theories suggesting that certain primitive cultures, or single features of such cultures, may be derivatives or " peasant forms " of higher civilizations (compare, e.g., Felix Speiser's hypothesis that the *korwar* style of Geelvink Bay might be a " peasant form " of Khmer art).

The arrangement of the contents is not uniform : after the introduction and the first chapter dealing with " Geography " and " Early Man in China " follow four chapters on important raw materials, viz. jade (Ch. 2), bronze (Ch. 3), lacquer and silk (first and second section of Ch. 4). Then the arrangement changes, the remaining four large chapters being devoted to the various provinces of art (Ch. 5, sculpture ; Ch. 6, pottery ; Ch. 7, painting and caligraphy ; Ch. 8, architecture). Only the chapter on sculpture has a proper chronological subdivision. There can be no doubt that with this work William Willets has won a place in the very small number of leading and really competent sinologists of our time. His erudition is admirable, his competence is to a great extent based on the fact that he studied not only the history of Chinese art but also the language (which implies the characters) and thus is able to read Chinese texts and inscriptions. The biographical note on the cover tells us that the author studied under Prof. W. Perceval Yetts (who, incidentally, was also a friend of the reviewer). Yetts, one of the most eminent sinological archæologists and connoisseurs of Chinese art, was aware of the Siberian and Central Asiatic influences on Chinese art, and it is therefore not surprising that Willetts, too, is interested in this subject and deals with it in several places and from various angles, though not exhaustively. The study and discussion of Carl Hentze's work " Objets Rituels, Croyances et Dieux de la Chine Antique et de l'Amérique " (Antwerp, 1936) would have been helpful, and, generally speaking, the striking Siberian–Chinese–and American (especially N.W. coast) parallels should have been considered in a book wherein Western influences from various antique sources are rightly and adequately discussed. For example, fig. 26 (p. 161) calls for a comparison, however brief, with the well-known double profiles of the north-west American conventional style (see *Man*, January, 1936, Nos. 3 and 4). Perhaps the most fascinating and, incidentally, best illustrated chapters are those on lacquer and silk. The sections on looms and weaves (pp. 234 ff.), Han dyes and mordants (pp. 241 ff.), damasks (pp. 243–250), and polychrome silks (pp. 250 ff.), illustrated by diagrams, are brilliant treatises showing the author's command of textile techniques. Mr. Willetts finds that the motives of the decoration of both lacquer and silk of the Han epoch are drawn upon the same fund of designs : " Han decorative design, as featured in lacquer and silk, displays astonishing imaginative resource and a catholicity of subject-matter unparalleled elsewhere in Chinese applied art " (p. 253). A comparison between Han damasks and polychrome silks on the one hand, Indonesian *ikat* and ancient Peruvian textiles (in particular from Ica and Pachacamac) on the basis of Prof. Alfred Bühler's and Mrs. Kristina Bühler-Oppenheim's standard work (catalogue of the Iklé-Huber collection, 1948) would be very interesting. Another excellent chapter is the one on architecture (Vol. 2, pp. 655 ff.), divided into two sections : Towns and Homesteads (pp. 655–688) and Buildings (pp. 689–754). The sphere of Chinese architecture was opened up for European students by Ernst Boerschmann in his monumental work over thirty years ago. Willetts observes

(p. 690) : " The structural framework (scil. of residential buildings) has usually been of wood. Few such buildings can be found in China dating from much before Ming times. This circumstance, and also the fact that a strongly conservative architectural style resulted from use of wood as a building material in China, must serve as excuse for basing an account of Chinese architecture on extant buildings from the Ming dynasty onwards." It would have been interesting in this connection to describe the peculiar structure of the so-called " lantern roof " (dating from the 6th–7th century A.D., first described from Central Asia by A. v. le Coq) and resulting in the attractive " lantern ceiling " (two examples illustrated in Bland and Backhouse's " China under the Empress Dowager " ; several other examples in Sickman and Soper, " The Art and Architecture of China, pp. 181–185).

The most important chapters are, of course, those on Painting (Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.) and Sculpture (Vol. I, pp. 293 ff.), both well illustrated. The author's comments on the various pictures provide a good and reliable guide to the understanding of both the meaning and the æsthetic qualities of the reproduced pictures, while here, as in the chapters on pottery and textiles, the technical knowledge of the learned author is admirable. As far as the chapter on sculpture is concerned, a few critical observations may be permitted : Chapter 5 is rightly divided into two main sections, viz., firstly, " Pre-Buddhist Sculpture," and secondly, " Buddhist Sculpture." But whereas the latter has nearly 100 pages, the pre-Buddhist sculpture must put up with one single page (pp. 293–4) ! It is true that the material is scanty, but that the author did not even mention the Ordos bronzes, with their most interesting Scythian affiliations, is surprising. It could not be argued that the artists of those bronzes are unknown and were possibly, perhaps even probably, not Chinese as the author deals with the palæontology and prehistoric stone artefacts of the Ordos region (pp. 33 ff.). On the other hand, the large section on Buddhist sculpture is so long because the author has found it necessary, instead of confining the section to an account of the beginnings of Buddhism and Buddhist art in China, to add an essay on " the beginnings of Buddhist iconography in India " and thus on the origin of the Buddha and bodhisattva images generally—which is surely beyond the scope of a book devoted to Chinese art. However, if the author decided to incorporate in his work a treatise on a subject which, though genetically, of course, related to Buddhist art in China, would be better treated in a separate book, he ought to have presented an objective account of the two opposed archæological schools mentioned on pp. 322 ff., namely, the school which holds that the first Buddha image was created in the Græco-Buddhist province of Gandhāra (north-west India and part of Afghanistan) and that the positions and attitudes of Buddhas and bodhisattvas represented under both Greek and Indian influence provided the patterns underlying the iconography of Buddhist art in other parts of Asia as far as Japan ; and, on the other hand, the group of scholars and art lovers who were so deeply impressed by the beauty of Asiatic art—Indian, Chinese and Japanese—that they emphasized the æsthetic contrast between these great provinces of Asiatic art and the art styles of the West and denied that Buddhist art could owe anything to Greece. The historic facts that Alexander the Great, who invaded north-west India in 325 B.C., had Greek artisans and artists in his army who introduced Greek arts and crafts in Bactria and north-west India, that Sophytes, a prince in the Punjab, produced coins in pure Greek style after 306 B.C., i.e. 40 years before the Maurya emperor Aśoka, that not only the garments but also a series of iconographic details of the typical Buddhist figures have been traced back to Greek prototypes, that the earliest Buddhist art in India, that of the Maurya period (middle of the third century B.C.)

does not know any representations of the Buddha but only his symbols, and that the figure of Gautama Buddha was first created after the type of Apollo or Dionysos by the artists of Gandhāra, themselves the descendants of both Greeks and Indians, also that fresco paintings on the walls of the cave temples in Chinese Turkestan were carried out in Gandhāra style, forming the link between the Buddhist art of Gandhāra and that of the T'ang period of China—all of these and many other pertinent facts were either ignored or minimized by those who were anxious to prove that the Indian artistic genius would have been, and had actually been, able to create the Buddha image without foreign aid. The exponents of this hypothesis are E. B. Havell, the late Ananda K. Coomarasvamy and William Cohn, the distinguished connoisseur of Chinese and Japanese art, to whom Willetts pays a tribute in his foreword and under whose influence he has evidently adopted the same attitude. On the other side, the archæological school which has demonstrated the importance of Gandhāra and also that the Indian sculpture of Mathura, which was contemporary, was influenced by Gandhāra, is represented by Alfred Foucher, Albert Grünwedel, Count Goblet d'Alviella, G. N. Banerjee, Albert v. le Coq, Sir M. Aurel Stein, Heinrich Lüders, Heinrich Zimmer. In his posthumous standard work " The Art of Indian Asia " (edited by Joseph Campbell (Pantheon Books, Bollingen Series XXXIX, 1955)) (p. 338) Prof. Zimmer explains that " the craftsmen of Mathurā were in contact very early with those of Gandhāra, and for a time the Alexandrian influence nearly overpowered the local indigenous tradition." In spite of the undeniable Hellenistic influence in Mathurā, Zimmer points out that " the lively attitude of the Matthurā Buddhas is remarkably different from anything evident in the Gandhāra Buddha type," and he defines the difference as follows: " The Hellenistic figures are usually represented in attitudes of repose, as though exhibiting their illusory semblances in serene aloofness, much like Hindu gods." On the other hand, " at Mathurā, the Buddha is the living teacher of gods and men." However, during the Gupta and Pāla dynasties later—according to Zimmer—the ideals of the Mathurā school were abandoned and instead the expression of the " serene aloofness " of the Buddha was generally adopted, and hence the same conception of the Buddha image was perpetuated in the " colonial " art provinces, such as Burma, Ceylon, Java, whose iconographic tradition is derived from the Gupta and Pala sculpture. To China, Buddhist art came by two different routes and, implicitly, in two different styles: the derivative of Gupta and Pala art reached China by sea, whereas Gandhāra types came directly, via Central Asia, between the second and tenth centuries A.D., as was proved through Sir Aurel Stein's research at Khotan and the four Prussian Turfan expeditions under Grünwedel, v. le Coq and Huth. The overwhelming evidence of this latter development emerges from the magnificent colour plates of A. v. le Coq's great work " Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien," which is, fortunately, in the Public Library in Melbourne.

Thus if Willett's remarks (p. 323, note 3) that, in his opinion, the insight into the great historic significance of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra is " a minority opinion to-day," all we can do is admit that the illustrious archæologists and historians who recognized the truth have died, and therefore, as it happens, only a few others remain with us who, like William Cohn, dislike Gandhāra sculpture and went even so far as to describe it as " the work of stone-masons " (*sic.*). The reader who wishes to obtain first-hand information about Buddhist archæology will be well advised to rely on the works of v. le Coq and H. Zimmer, quoted above, and for Gandhāra specially on Alfred Foucher's volumes on " l'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra." To my regret, none of these works is quoted by Willetts, although

he mentions at least Foucher and le Coq, but without reference to their magna opera. If these controversial problems were to be included in a work on Chinese art at all—which, in my humble opinion, was unnecessary—it would have been fair to produce full references illustrating the points and evidence put forward by the other side.

However, this is only some criticism of one detail of an otherwise admirable and really great work which should be studied by all students of fine arts and also by archæologists and anthropologists in Australia. Anthropologists and prehistoric archæologists in this country will be interested in many illustrations, such as those of neolithic axes (Pl. 1), the perforated adze and chisels (Pl. 2), the perforated discs on Pls. 5 and 7, the spearhead on Pl. 4 (A), the stone bird from T'ai-yüan in Shansi (Pl. 7 (A)), which is very similar to the well-known stone bird from New Guinea, which is in the National Museum in Melbourne; and many other plates and text figures. The excellence of the drawings for the line blocks deserves special mention. We hope that this important work may soon be available in the coveted library edition of the Pelican series, i.e. printed on better paper and bound in cloth.

LEONHARD ADAM.

Caste and Communication in an Indian Village. *By D. N. Majumdar. Asia Publishing House, London and Bombay.* 1958. *Pp.* 1–358, *tables, sociograms, village plans. Price* 33*s.* 6*d. sterling.*

This is an interesting and at the same time an exasperating book. Readers may sympathize with Professor Majumdar's dilemma, a familiar one to people confronted with the task of presenting a mass of field material: not just what (how much) to include, what to leave out, but how to arrange it all to the best advantage.

The village in question is named Mohana for the purposes of this book (Gohanakallan in the article by D. N. Majumdar *et al.* on "Intercaste Relations . . ." first published in the *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. VIII, 1955, reprinted in the volume edited by Professor Majumdar, *Rural Profiles*, published by the Ethnographic and Folk Society, Uttar Pradesh, 1955 however, the map which accompanied that article is not reproduced in the volume under discussion). It was chosen for study as a village having urban contacts but not included in any community development scheme (p. 4); the research is said to have been "ethnographically oriented" (p. 5).

Despite the title, the volume seems to consist of two differently conceptualized parts. The first, rather more tightly organized, comprises Chapters 1 through 6; its principal subject matter is the relations within and between the 15 castes which make up the village. Changes in these relations over the past 15–25 years are noted, highlighted by the abolition of the *zamindari*, with the weakening of the authority of the dominant caste (Thakurs), and accompanied by lessening of respect for the Brahmins. Professor Majumdar speaks (p. 19) of the "growing discrepancy between theory and practice." The "theory," or construct, he illustrates neatly by means of sociograms (pp. 39, 42, 50, 53, 69, 71) showing relations between the Thakurs and other castes in a variety of circumstances. The "practice," or actuality, is brought out in the shape of comments on the situation, and case material dealing with specific events.

In the second part of the volume the emphasis is less on social relations, and more on their cultural content: there is more concern with "what is done," and "how," rather than with "who does it." This is so despite the fact that Chapter 8 is labelled "The Family"—perhaps as a concession to reader-expectations, because Professor Majumdar seems less enthusiastic about this chapter than about some of the others. Take, for instance, the list of "Some Kinship Forms used in the Village" (p. 107); apart from the fact that there is no clue to the sex of the speaker (it is implicit in only two, husband's brother and husband's sister), reciprocal terms are not given (e.g., F.F. is included but not S.S., m.m. but not d.d.) and close relationships which one would expect to find listed are not included: e.g., cross and parallel cousins, brother's son (brother's daughter is given), sister's son and daughter. And a list of members of the only "large" Mohana family (pp. 202–3) shows the "Sons of Ram Singh" and "Sons of Indra Singh," respectively, with no indication of number. *Gotra* (clans) and *biswa* (Brahmin sub-caste division) are mentioned in a very perfunctory way, and their place in the system is not clarified. The mixed nature of this second section of the volume is best indicated by noting the content of Chapter 12, "Recreation," which surely stretches the meaning of the term rather too far. After covering some of the items one might expect to find under this heading (even though "Draughts and Snakes and Ladders" appear under "Gambling" for no apparent reason, except that they are games), a number of small sections deal briefly with such diverse topics as "Drainage System," "Environmental Sanitation," "Water Supply," "Latrines," "Personal Cleanliness," "Food Habits," "Structure of Houses," "Maintenance of Roads and Lanes," "Diseases and their Treatment," "Childbirth," "Burial Grounds," and "Religious Practices." (In spite of all this, the chapter on Religion also contains a section on "Health and Hygiene.") Some of the material in this latter part of the book could have been more conveniently disposed of in the form of appendixes: for instance, local information about telling an animal's age by looking at its teeth (p. 190); weights and measures (pp. 174–6); types of manure (p. 150).

The volume would have been improved by more careful attention to detail. In the account of cleavages among the Thakurs the textual discussion is not co-ordinated with the diagrams designed to illustrate it. Both the "sociograms" (pp. 88–9) and the plan of the Thakur Tola (p. 91) would have been much more useful had they been capable of cross reference. For instance, unit "x" in the discussion (pp. 90–2) appears to be equivalent to unit "15" in sociogram 7 (p. 89), but readers are left to puzzle out this sort of thing for themselves, including the correspondence between names in the text and symbols in the sociograms. Also, although all personal and place names are "fictitious" (p. 6), the author fluctuates in a confusing way between names and initials. Thus in the cases in Chapter 6 both forms are intermingled: "I., (another Thakur)" seems to be identical with "Indrapal," mentioned a few lines below on the same page (112). In Chapter 7, men of the Dhobi caste are listed by letter on p. 184, by name on p. 191. One of the strengths of this volume is, or should be, the detailed information it provides on social interaction, as an intimate picture of village affairs and not just a formal outline. This is greatly reduced by the lack of consistency in identifying individual characters, making it impossible to follow through the same person in different contexts. E.g., the label B-Singh appears occasionally (as on p. 113, a case where a diagram would have been useful); but so do the names Bir, Baran, Bux, Baksh, Bindra and Bhuwan Singh.

Apart from small errors evidently overlooked in proof-reading (e.g. word arrangement, bottom of page 65; sacred thread spelt janeu, pp. 76–7, *janeo* pp. 226–7), and occasional

lack of clarity in English (e.g., use of the term " cashed " on p. 328, relevance of " apartheid " on p. 327 ; and the word *sayana* appears variously in translation, in the same kinds of context as " witch doctor," " sorcerer " and " magician "), a number of minor points are left unexplained. For instance, if the Thakurs were " the village *zamindars* " (e.g, pp. 22, 25), why the references to *the " ex-zamindar "* (e.g., pp. 117, 293) ? Is he a Thakur, too ? And if, as it seems, he was previously resident in Mohana, why is he not included among former Mohana men living in Lucknow (e.g., pp. 16, 174) ? If the " lower " castes regard the Thakurs as " arbitrators in cases of conflict among themselves " (p. 25), this could have been brought out more fully in relation to caste *panchayats* (Chapter 6). How is a man's property divided among his sons (p. 196) ? If prostitution is " a regular trade in the villages " as well as in Lucknow (p. 231), what is the position in Mohana, that is apart from the experiences of Mohana people in other places ?

The author has a tendency to make general statements and then leave them virtually stranded, not adequately connected with the rest of the discussion. For example, " The awe and fear that a child has for his father and mother is enough to make him obedient " (p. 211), which is not amplified in the material on child-rearing. No evidence is put forward in support of the claims that " Grandparents love their grandchildren more than they do their own children " (pp. 206-7), or (p. 233, in reference to religion) " Behind all this gaiety and revelry there is the simple heart of the villager offering sincere worship." There are more dramatically framed assertions too : " Evil-minded as Man is, it is very difficult for him to live up to the high ideals of the joint family system " (p. 203) ; " Hard days have fallen upon most parts of the world, and the village Mohana also has had to bear its burden of poverty and hardship " (p. 244).

Even though Chapter 11, " Communication," is concerned almost entirely with Mohana's *external* contacts, there is not enough information on this score to give the reader a clear picture. The influence of other villages and towns is scantily documented, and so are the outward movements of Mohana people (e.g., p. 174, " a few villagers . . . are regular visitors to Lucknow . . . " ; but, p. 84, " Many of the villagers often go to Lucknow "). This means that, in respect of this particular area, one cannot really evaluate the claim that the differences between village and town take the form not of a continuum, but of a dichotomy : " two distinct constellations of values," with " sharp dividing lines between the two levels of living and experience " (p. 329). It would be interesting, also, to know more about the impact of the research team, and of Professor Majumdar's own place in village affairs (since it has been his second home for some years, p. 5). We are told very little about this. (In one instance, p. 205, it is noted that Mohana women would not discuss their husbands with the field-workers. This is hardly surprising, given local circumstances, if the field-workers were all male : and there is no indication to the contrary.) There is also a suggestion (p. 3) that factions are a relatively recent introduction in Indian village life, in contrast to other views on this topic : but this is not elaborated.

Although in the last chapter Professor Majumdar is unhappy about the term, and concept, of " Sanskritization " (while returning to it finally for want of a better : p. 338), his own treatment here would have benefited had he indicated more precisely what he means by the " horizontal " spread of caste (since it does not have the usual spatial connotation, i.e. pointing to consolidation of caste ties on a wider territorial basis), and by " capillary " as contrasted with vertical ascent. His assertion (p. 334) that " The lower castes see social mobility as a

horizontal movement," with the inference that they are not consciously interested in vertical mobility, would seem to need qualifying in the light of his own discussion in the rest of the volume.

A few final comments: Professor Majumdar refers (p. 6) to his chapter on "Inter-Caste Relations" originally published in the *Eastern Anthropologist*, and reprinted here "after revision" (without commenting on the discrepancy in the 1955 census figures: on p. 9, Kumhar caste figures are given as 18 m., 17 f., Lohar as 6 m., 4 f., whereas in the reprinting of the abovementioned chapter in *Rural Profiles*, p. 63, the figures are Kumhar 20 m., 14 f., Lohar 4 m., 6 f.). He does not, however, refer even in the Bibliography to Edwin Eames' chapter on "Population and Economic Structure of an Indian Rural Community" (Gohana-kallan, i.e., "Mohana"), even though this too appeared first in the *Eastern Anthropologist* and later in *Rural Profiles*, both edited by Professor Majumdar himself. In the event of reprinting, it should be noted that the present glossary is hopelessly inadequate, and that page references in the index are minimal.

It should be emphasized that this volume is by no means unique in its apparent indecision as regards range and scope: choice of theme on the one hand, supporting material on the other. Numerous studies of such small "communities" have appeared in the last few years, particularly in North America, England and the Continent of Europe, and most show signs of struggling with this question of aim and treatment. One approach focuses on specific problems with the community as a setting; others attempt a general ethnographic coverage; and others again try to combine the two in varying degrees, often unsuccessfully. Obviously concentration on a rather narrow problem or theme will lose much of its meaning if readers are unable to place the discussion in context: but a detailed ethnographic description with no particular focus is likely to seem pointless or boring, except as source material, to anyone not especially interested in that particular area. It is not easy to combine the two; and instead of being over-ambitious in respect of one volume, it would be far preferable to spread the material over a number of publications which would treat systematically but from different angles a series of interrelated problems.

Nevertheless, the general reader should enjoy this volume, and acquire a great deal of interesting information into the bargain: others will welcome it as an addition to the growing social anthropological and sociological literature dealing with Indian affairs.

If this review has adopted a critical tone, it is not for want of appreciation of the work carried out by Professor Majumdar and his colleagues—the contrary, in fact. It would be easy, when confronted with a book of this sort, to dismiss it with a few amiable platitudes—as is sometimes done, particularly in respect of non-European scholars. (To the extent that the latter is so, one could speak of a double standard here, a different level of expectation.) But on the one hand, as mentioned in a previous review (MANKIND, Vol. 5, No. 8, pp. 360–62), Professor Majumdar's reputation is such that we expect something more from him: he can and should do better than this. On the other, there is the broader question of Anthropology's contribution to the field of Indian studies (cf. Professor Majumdar's Introduction to *Rural Profiles*, e.g., pp. iii-v). To refrain from criticism is to do service to neither.

CATHERINE H. BERNDT.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

The Anthropological Society of Western Australia, 1959.

Sir,

This Society was inaugurated on November 24th, 1958, with a provisional foundation committee comprising Dr. R. M. Berndt (Reader in Anthropology, University of W.A.) as Chairman, Mr. V. Serventy (Secretary and Treasurer) and Dr. W. D. L. Ride (Director of the W.A. Museum), Mr. F. W. G. Andersen (Deputy Commissioner of Native Welfare for W.A.) and Dr. Catherine Berndt (Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology, University of W.A.). Meetings are held at the Anthropology Section, University of W.A. During the first of these, three major facets of Anthropology were discussed: (1) General Anthropology, especially in reference to Social Anthropology; (2) the significance of Anthropology in relation to the administration of native affairs; and (3) Anthropology in relation to Museum activity. Some anthropological films were shown.

On March 24th, 1959, Mr. John Martin spoke on a social anthropological study he was carrying out, of focusing on leadership and decision-making in a local road board. A Museum evening was held on April 7th; members were conducted around the galleries by Dr. Ride, and were able to see something of what takes place "behind the scenes."

Dr. R. L. Kirk (Reader in Experimental Zoology, University of W.A.) spoke on "Human Genetics and Anthropology, with special reference to the Australian Aborigines" on May 5th. On June 16th Mr. Guy Grey-Smith (W.A. artist) spoke on "Australian Aboriginal Art from an Artist's Viewpoint," and Dr. R. M. Berndt took the same subject from the viewpoint of an anthropologist.

Dr. Allan Wilson (Reader in Petrology, University of W.A.) spoke on "Modern Techniques in Archæology: Theory and Practice" on July 21st; and before the meeting concluded, Mr. Harry Butler (of the W.A. Museum) exhibited some Australian aboriginal artefacts.

A special meeting of this Society was arranged for August 27th in conjunction with the A.N.Z.A.A.S. congress being held in Perth. Delegates from anthropological societies in N.S.W., Victoria and S.A. were welcomed, and the local Society became officially affiliated with the Australian Anthropological Association. During the evening Emeritus Professor A. P. Elkin (University of Sydney) spoke on his recent work in New Guinea and on the history of anthropological societies in Australia, Professor J. Barnes (Department of Anthropology and Sociology, A.N.U.) on his recent trip to Papua-New Guinea, and Professor W. R. Geddes (Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney) of his research in Thailand. Dr. R. M. Berndt was in the chair and Dr. A. Capell gave a vote of thanks to the speakers.

On October 13th Mr. S. Wallace (Deputy Superintendent of Primary Education for W.A.) gave a talk on "Native Education in W.A.". A special meeting in conjunction with the Adult Education Board and the Department of English, University of W.A., was held on November 2nd, when the noted Indian author and art critic, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, spoke on "Writing and Writers' Work in Contemporary India."

The Annual General Meeting was held on December 1st, 1959, when the Constitution of the Society was considered, officers were elected, and three films on Australian aboriginal life were shown (through the courtesy of the Australian National Library, Film Division, and the Board for Anthropological Research, University of Adelaide).

The Society mimeographs and distributes summaries of all lectures, partly for the benefit of country members. Its committee and members have participated in a number of matters directly referring to the preservation of archæological sites in W.A., native welfare, and so on. The membership as at December 1st, 1959, stood at 65, and the average attendance at meetings has been 30–40. The Society is now in recess until early in March, 1960.

RONALD M. BERNDT.

University of W.A.,
January, 1960.

Unusual Rock Markings in Australia.

Sir,

In his paper on this subject in the last issue of MANKIND, Mr. Mountford ignored previous literature in his sections (*a*) Cuts on permanent rock faces, and (*b*) Engraved pebbles. The specimens shown in his figures B, C, F and G were published (from casts of the original specimens) in my memoir on the Stone Implements of Australia (*Australian Museum Memoir IX*, 1946) as Figs. 356–9 and described on p. 64 as bone implement sharpening stones. His Fig. E is almost identical, though not the same specimen, with Fig. 319 in the same memoir and described on p. 62 as a *Morah* millstone. In both cases references to previous literature are quoted that Mr. Mountford has not mentioned. It is therefore quite incorrect to claim that these are unrecorded and undescribed stone implements, an error that could have been avoided had he consulted authoritative literature on Australian stone implements.

Quite apart from this particular example, I would like to draw attention to an unfortunate tendency that has developed in recent years among writers on Australian archæology, which is to ignore both key references in the published literature and all papers which disagree with or criticize their work. Such a practice may be justified where completely original observations are described, but it is inexcusable where theoretical interpretations are discussed. It is a policy that does not present all available data and opinions, leading to confusion in the minds of students abroad, and it is one that must fail to stimulate a friendly co-operative atmosphere among workers in the science.

F. D. MCCARTHY,
Curator of Anthropology.

The Australian Museum,
November 2nd, 1960.

Correction to Plate U, "Mankind," Vol. 5, No. 8, p. 363, Two Love Magic Objects from Laverton, W.A.

To coordinate with the text (see "Correspondence," p. 364), this Plate should be reversed, the letters A to D to run from left to right or, as the Plate stands, reverse present lettering to read, from right to left, A, B, C and D.

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1961

President : Mr. A. Massola.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. R. C. Seeger, Mr. E. D. Gill.

Council :

Mr. D. J. Mulvaney, Mr. H. C. E. Stewart, Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, Mr. P. E. Felton, Dr. R. W. Dungan, Mr. H. R. Hammet, Miss V. A. Leeper.

Hon. Treasurer : Mrs. I. M. White.

Hon. Secretary : Mrs. C. M. Tudehope, 22 St. James Avenue, Mont Albert, E.10.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1961

President : Mr. F. S. Colliver.

Vice-Presidents : Mr. Alan Campbell, Col. J. K. Murray (*ex officio*).

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Dr. F. W. Robinson, Dr. B. Barrack, Dr. D. J. Tugby, Mr. G. Mack.

Hon. Treasurer : Mrs. M. H. C. McClymont, 16 Wool Street, Toowong, Brisbane, Q.

Hon. Secretary : Miss Paquita Day, c/o Geology Department, University of Queensland, St. Lucia, S.W.6, Q.

The Anthropological Society of Western Australia

(Founded 1958)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1961

President : Dr. W. D. L. Ride.

Vice-Presidents : Dr. R. M. Berndt, Mr. V. N. Serventy.

Council :

Mr. S. G. Middleton, Mr. F. W. G. Anderson, Dr. S. Kaldor.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. J. Kenney, Clifton Street, Maddington (phone 60 1270).

Hon. Secretary : Dr. P. Lawrence, Flat 304, 42 Mount Street, Perth (Phone University, 36 2481; home, 21 0692.)

The Australian Anthropological Association

Members:

Anthropological Society of New South Wales
Anthropological Society of the Northern Territory.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Queensland
Anthropological Society of Victoria.
Anthropological Society of Western Australia.

OBJECTS.

(*a*) To promote the science of Anthropology.

(*b*) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.

(*c*) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.

(*d*) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.